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Goals of the *Africanus Journal*

The *Africanus Journal* is an interdisciplinary biblical, theological, and practical journal of the Center for Urban Ministerial Education (CUME). Its goals are to promote:

- a. the mission and work of the members and mentors of the Africanus Guild Ph.D. Research Program of Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, Boston;
- b. the principles of the Africanus Guild (evangelical orthodox Christian men and women who are multicultural, multiracial, urban-oriented, studying a Bible without error in a cooperative way);
- c. Christian scholarship that reflects an evangelical perspective, as an affiliate of GCTS-Boston. This is an interdisciplinary journal that publishes high quality articles in areas such as biblical studies, theology, church history, religious research, case studies, and studies related to practical issues in urban ministry. Special issues are organized according to themes or topics that take seriously the contextual nature of ministry situated in the cultural, political, social, economic, and spiritual realities in the urban context.

Scholarly papers may be submitted normally by those who have or are in (or are reviewed by a professor in) a Th.M., D.Min., Ed.D., Th.D., ST.D., Ph.D., or equivalent degree program.

Two issues normally are published per year. <http://www.gordonconwell.edu/resources/Africanus-Journal.cfm>

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Life of Julius Africanus

Julius Africanus was probably born in Jerusalem, many scholars think around A.D. 200. Africanus was considered by the ancients as a man of consummate learning and sharpest judgment (*Ante-Nicene Fathers* 6:128). He was a pupil of Heracles, distinguished for philosophy and other Greek learning, in Alexandria, Egypt around A.D. 231–233. In A.D. 220/226, he performed some duty in behalf of Nicopolis (formerly Emmaus) in Palestine. Later he likely became bishop of Emmaus (Eusebius, *History*, VI.xxxi.2). Origen calls him “a beloved brother in God the Father, through Jesus Christ, His holy Child” (*Letter from Origen to Africanus* 1). Fellow historian Eusebius distinguishes him as “no ordinary historian” (*History*, I. vi.2). Eusebius describes the five books of *Chronologies* as a “monument of labor and accuracy” and cites extensively from his harmony of the evangelists’ genealogies (*History*, VI. xxxi. 1–3). Africanus was a careful historian who sought to defend the truth of the Bible. He is an ancient example of meticulous, detailed scholarship which is historical, biblical, truthful, and devout.

Even though Eusebius describes Africanus as the author of the *Kestoi*, Jerome makes no mention of this (ANF 6:124). The author of *Kestoi* is surnamed Sextus, probably a Libyan philosopher who arranged a library in the Pantheon at Rome for the Emperor. The *Kestoi* was probably written toward the end of the 200s. It was not written by a Christian since it contains magical incantations (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri* III.412).

The Greek text of Africanus’ writings may be found in Martinus Josephus Routh, *Reliquiae sacrae* II (New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1974 [1846]), 225–309, and Martin Wallraff, Umberto Roberto, Karl Pinggera, eds., William Adler, trans., *Iulius Africanus Chronographiae: The Extant Fragments, Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller* 15 (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007).

The extant writings of Julius Africanus may be found in vol. 1, no 1, April 2009 edition of the *Africanus Journal*.

Other Front Matter

Editorial team for the issue: Jennifer Creamer, Mark Harden, Kris Johnson, Seong Park, Nicole Rim, John Runyon, Aída Besançon Spencer, William David Spencer

Resources

Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary faculty publications only and hard copies of this journal may be ordered by emailing books@gordonconwell.edu, or by telephone at 978-646-4015.

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Summary of Content

Commemorating the fortieth year of Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary–Boston (Center for Urban Ministerial Education) and looking forward to the fiftieth year of Gordon-Conwell-Hamilton, this issue explores the founding of this institution, including articles by and on its two founders, its merger, the genesis of each of its campuses, and its vision for the future.

Africanus THE AFRICANUS GUILD *Guild*



L to R: William David Spencer, Joo Yun Kim, Dae Sung Kim, Mark Harden, Quonekuia Day, Jennifer Creamer, Aida Besancon Spencer

“The Africanus Guild provides an excellent opportunity to study with scholars who affirm the inerrancy of Scripture at the doctoral level. My mentors continually challenge me to greater thoroughness in research and clarity of expression in writing. The Africanus Guild has given me the support I need to become a better researcher, writer and teacher in a multicultural context.”

—Jennifer Creamer

Jennifer is currently studying for a doctorate in New Testament at North-West University and is a member of the Africanus Guild program at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary. She has completed master's degrees in Old Testament and in New Testament at GCTS. Jennifer has taught biblical studies at various University of the Nations campuses around the world.

Reflections on the Beginning of Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary¹

JOHN A. HUFFMAN, JR.

In November 1962, I perceived a call of God to local parish ministry and soon an additional call to serve the larger national and global church. One of my mentors, Harold Ockenga of Park Street Church in Boston, was dedicated to serving the larger body of Christ in ways that I saw enriching and supplemented his strong dedication to local parish ministry. In 1969, Dr. Harold Ockenga invited me to become part of the founding board of Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, a commitment to which I am now in my fifth decade of service. What a privilege it has been to watch the way Harold Ockenga brought Gordon Divinity School and Billy Graham brought Conwell Divinity School together in a marriage that has made such a positive contribution to the theological life of the United States and even the world. The school initially supported financially by the generosity of J. Howard Pew of the Sun Oil Company and his Pew Charitable Trust, Gordon-Conwell has through the years built a larger support base. And during these four decades has expanded its enrollment from a couple of hundred students to over 2,000 at the present time. Initially, it operated out of its main campus in South Hamilton, Massachusetts. Soon it added an inner-city Boston campus to provide a certification theological education process for ministry candidates from a variety of minority, ethnic, and racial backgrounds. These include African-American, Portuguese, Hispanic, and Caucasian candidates for ministry who didn't have the benefit of undergraduate baccalaureate degrees.

Ockenga was succeeded by Dr. Robert Cooley, who expanded the seminary's ministry to an additional campus in Charlotte, North Carolina. Dr. Walter Kaiser, one of my former professors at Wheaton College, became the president in the mid-'90s adding an additional extension in Jacksonville, Florida. And most recently, in 2008, Dr. Dennis Hollinger has assumed the presidency leading the school into a strong new era of theological leadership. Service on this board enabled me to stay in touch with the cutting edge of what was going on in intellectual, theological circles. It also provided me the opportunity to develop deep, ongoing friendships with fellow trustees, faculty members, administrators, and students.

I look back on my metamorphosis from being, by far, the youngest member on the board in my late 20s to now being the senior member in length of service as I move into my 70s. I thank God for the privilege of having been able to help in the governance of this significant ministry. There are two contributions I was able to give for which I am most grateful.

One was to recommend Dr. J. Christy Wilson Jr. to our faculty as professor of missions. He had been forced to leave Afghanistan during a time of political upheaval in the early '70s and accepted our offer contingent on the understanding that if Afghanistan ever opened up again he would return to his call there. It never did, allowing Christy to train several generations of seminarians to have a heart for missions. During the Soviet incursion into Afghanistan, he took teams each year to minister in the refugee camps just over the border in Pakistan. In the name of Jesus Christ, he brought many disabled tribal leaders, who had lost limbs due to landmine explosions, to Boston for medical treatment and the gifts of prosthetic devices. In addition to receiving outstanding medical care, these Muslim leaders experienced the love of Christ through Christy and his wife Betty. There are many global leaders in the world mission movement today whom God touched through the quiet, faithful ministry of this dear brother, whose father had opened the door for me to Princeton and for whom I was able to open the door to Gordon-Conwell.

¹ An adapted excerpt from John A. Huffman, Jr.'s *A Most Amazing Call* (2012), independently published, 325-28, 341. Available at Amazon.com.

A second contribution I made occurred while I was on sabbatical in 1987 at Harvard University. Over a long dinner in a fine seafood restaurant, Dr. Cooley, Gordon-Conwell's president at the time, shared a board dilemma. He was trying to ascertain who should replace Dr. Harold Lindsell, who had just stepped down as chairman of the board. Dr. Cooley went over a full list of board members, many with superb qualifications. Then, almost out of the blue, I suggested, "Billy Graham would be perfect!" Dr. Cooley looked quite startled, responding, "Do you think he would even consider such a possibility?" I responded, "The worst thing he could say is 'no,' and we would be back to the same place we are now." So, Dr. Cooley traveled to Montreat, invited Dr. Graham to be the chair, to which he said "yes," giving his strong leadership for almost a decade in that position and continuing support when he ultimately passed on the baton. It has amazed me in my years at Gordon-Conwell how God has provided spiritually, physically, intellectually, and financially for that great ministry. What a privilege it's been to observe God at work over these decades.

Soon after leaving Newport Beach in the late '70s, I received another call from Dr. Harold Ockenga, inviting me to go on the board of *Christianity Today* magazine. This was an opportunity I could not turn down. In the early 1950s, Billy Graham had a vision for a distinctive, evangelical, theological publication that could go toe-to-toe with the more liberal theological journals of that era. Graham enlisted the financial help of J. Howard Pew, who helped realize the dream of putting a copy of this publication into the hands of every seminarian in the United States. I remember my father's excitement when he received the first issue in 1956. My scholarly grandfather, Jasper Huffman, was an occasional contributor of articles in the early years of publication and, upon his death in the early '70s, willed to me his stacks of back copies. As for me, I had read the publication faithfully since the early '60s, first picking up my free copy of each issue in the basement of Stewart Hall at Princeton Theological Seminary and then subscribing to it upon graduation. I could not say yes fast enough to Dr. Ockenga's invitation. I joined the board along with a number of evangelical leaders for whom I had such great admiration.

How I thank God for the privilege of serving churches that have accepted the fact that part of my call involved these additional ministries, like Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, what I refer to as "my other call." And now, as my forty-seven years of local parish ministry have come to an end, my life in ministry continues on with some of these very ministries in my new role of "minister-at-large."

John A. Huffman Jr. is chair of the Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary Board of Trustees and chairman of the board of *Christianity Today*. In 2015 he has been ordained as a Presbyterian USA minister for fifty years. He serves as "minister-at-large" at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, Hamilton, MA.

The Faithfulness of God¹

GARTH M. ROSELL

“Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary,” as my good friend and former colleague Nigel Kerr liked to say, “stands as a monument to God’s faithfulness.”² The merger in 1969 of Philadelphia’s Conwell School of Theology and Boston’s Gordon Divinity School blended the strengths of two much older but remarkably similar educational institutions: Both founded in the 1880s; both started by Baptist ministers; both rooted in the city (Philadelphia and Boston); both offering classes at night so working folk could attend; both open from the very beginning to women as well as men; both Bible centered; and both built upon the vision -- as Russell Conwell phrased it -- of making “an education possible for all young men and women who have good minds and the will to work” or as Adoniram Judson Gordon phrased it “of equipping men and women in practical religious work and furnishing them with a thoroughly Biblical training.”³

The need for such education was obvious. The late nineteenth century was a time of enormous change within America and around the world. The rise of the city, the growth of industry and the emergence of new patterns of immigration were (quite literally) transforming the landscape of American life.

With the explosive growth of Philadelphia and Boston, for example, urban pastors such as Conwell and Gordon were faced with a whole set of new problems and new opportunities. “Into our doors,” observed A. J. Gordon in his 1887 address to the Evangelical Alliance in Washington, D.C., “the untaught and unregenerated populations of the Old World are pouring by the hundreds of thousands every year, while through our doors we can look out upon every nation of the globe as a field ripe for missionary harvest.”

“The church according to its primitive ideal,” Gordon continued, “is the one institution in which every man’s wealth is under mortgage to every man’s [need], every man’s success to every man’s service; so that no laborer in any part of the field should lack the means for prosecuting his work so long as any fellow-disciple in any other part of the field has ability to supply his lack.” But “as surely as darkness follows sunset,” Gordon warned, “will the alienation of the masses follow sanctimonious selfishness in the church. If a Christian’s motto is, ‘Look out for number one,’ then let him look out for estrangement and coldness on the part of number two.” Indeed, “it is not an orthodox creed which repels the masses, but an orthodox greed.”⁴

In Philadelphia, to the south, Russell Conwell was expressing similar sentiments: Troubled by the growing problems of the poverty, hunger, unemployment and despair he observed all around him, he could see “but one general remedy for all these ills” -- namely, the provision of “a more useful education” for those who were in need. So it was, in 1884, that what Conwell came to call the “Temple College Idea” was born -- and the tuition-free, Bible-centered, night school for working adults (eventually to be known as Temple University) was launched in the basement of the Temple Baptist church in Philadelphia. Within five years, it had a student population of over a thousand.⁵

1 This article was adapted from a trustee and faculty presentation February 12, 2015 at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, Hamilton, MA.

2 William Nigel Kerr, “The First 25 Years” (published by Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, January 1, 1995), p. 1.

3 Adapted from Garth M. Rosell, “The Conwell Heritage,” Centennial Convocation Series, September 17, 1985 and “A Tribute to Harold John Ockenga,” Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, Founders Day Convocation, September 13, 2005.

4 Adoniram Judson Gordon, “Individual Responsibility Growing out of our Perils and Opportunities,” in *National Perils and Opportunities: The Discussions of the General Christian Conference of the Evangelical Alliance* held in Washington, D.C., December 7-9, 1887 (New York: Baker & Taylor, 1887), pp. 379-381.

5 “University Began as Theology School, 1884,” Temple University News (Friday, November 2, 1962), p. 27; “Conwell

Meanwhile in Boston, as Scott Gibson has described so beautifully in his biography of Gordon, plans for a similar school were being laid. Thirty students (20 men; 10 women) gathered in the vestry of the Clarendon Street Church early in October of 1889, to help launch the Boston Missionary Training School. Established, as Gordon phrased it, to help “meet the demand for a large increase of our missionary force,” the new school was to provide the early foundations for our seminary.⁶

The stories of these two schools -- while different in some respects -- are surprisingly similar when it comes to the core convictions that gave shape and direction to their histories: namely, their shared commitment to Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior; to the importance of the church as God’s primary means to reach a needy world; to the unique authority of the Bible as the Christians’ absolute rule for faith and conduct; to the essential importance of education to prepare women and men for Christian service; to the importance of applying the teachings of Scripture to every area of life and work; and to the joyous task of spreading the glorious Gospel around the world.

The Merger

So it was, in the spring of 1969 that the boards of both Gordon Divinity School and the Conwell School of Theology voted to merge the two institutions and by the following autumn, under a “Letter of Intent,” the two seminaries began operating as a single entity. Despite the enormous challenges involved in merging two proud old institutions from two different cities -- to say nothing of the painstaking work of untangling the complex financial and personal issues involved in the process, as John Huffman points out in his fine autobiography -- the new seminary began to flourish and enjoy the blessing of God.⁷ A campus was purchased, a Board of Trustees was constituted, a faculty was assembled, a goal of recruiting a student population of 750 was established; and Harold John Ockenga was installed (on April 1, 1969) as the first of the six presidents who have served the seminary during its nearly fifty-year history.⁸

The new seminary’s very first official catalog (for 1970/1971), described the process in the following words: “This is the first catalog describing the newly created Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary. Gordon-Conwell has a vital concern for the ministry of the local church as well as all other types of effective witness. Men and women are prepared for service in urban, suburban and rural ministries. Along with a stress on academic excellence, Gordon-Conwell has a deep interest in the practical application of biblical truth and in the spiritual development of its students.”

“At the present time there are two campuses. The central campus is in Wenham, Massachusetts, and the urban center is in Philadelphia....During the course of the 1970-1971 academic year, Gordon-Conwell plans to move to its new campus, the 120-acre Carmelite Junior Seminary in Hamilton, just one and one-half miles from the main entrance of the Wenham campus. The purchase is being made from the Fathers of the Carmelite Order. This facility contains everything necessary for a school of several hundred students. The one basic need is a library. Plans are in process for the erection of this building.”⁹

Stuart Barton Babbage, President of Conwell School of Theology at the time of the merger and Vice-President and Academic Dean of the new Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary after the merger, enlarged on the themes identified in the seminary’s first catalog with the following

School of Theology Catalog for 1964-1965,” (published by Conwell School of Theology, 1964), p. 12; and Nigel Kerr, “The First 25 Years,” pp. 1-2.

6 Scott M. Gibson, *A. J. Gordon: American Premillennialist* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2001).

7 John A. Huffman, *A Most Amazing Call* (privately printed, 2012), pp. 209-215.

8 Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, *Catalog for 1970-1971* (Wenham, MA: printed by the seminary, 1970), pp. 7-11.

9 *Catalog for 1970-1971*, p. 10.

descriptions: “As President [of Conwell], I had made it clear that we were not interested in simply being absorbed in Gordon. I had pointed out that we were interested in certain things which we desired to see safeguarded and preserved: that, at Conwell, we had sought to cultivate an attitude of openness to the world in which we live and a sensitive awareness of, and responsiveness to, the problems of our tortured society. In particular, we had sought to understand some of the intractable problems of the inner city, and had sought to open up lines of communication with the black community. The representatives of Gordon stated that they also were eager to share these concerns.”

“The Board, after full discussion, then approved the principle of a merger on the following basis: (1) The development of the site at Wenham...as the main center of training for the suburban ministry; (2) The development of a new site in Boston as a center of urban training, engaging, for the purpose, a predominantly black faculty; (3) The development, in conjunction with this urban site, of a program of graduate studies leading to the doctorate.”¹⁰

So it was that classes got underway in the fall of 1970 with a faculty of 25, a student body of nearly 300, tuition of \$170/course, an 18-member Governing Board, a 36-member Board of Trustees and courses leading to three degrees (the Master of Divinity, the Master of Religious Education and the Master of Theological Studies).

Billy Graham and Harold John Ockenga

Without the vision, institutional savvy and good old-fashioned hard work of two remarkable individuals, however, it is unlikely that Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary would exist today. While others assisted in making the merger a reality (most especially, perhaps, J. Howard Pew whose amazing generosity helped to keep the school financially afloat during those early years),¹¹ two men in particular -- Harold John Ockenga and William Franklin Graham -- surely deserve “pride of place” in the founding of our seminary. Without them, humanly speaking, we would not exist.¹²

Fame is fleeting, of course, and the memory of these two evangelical giants has already begun to fade. Many students in my own classes haven’t the foggiest idea of how to pronounce the name “Ockenga” and as my good friend, Grant Wacker, has noted in his new biography of Billy Graham, “nearly a third of Americans under the age of thirty do not recognize [Billy] Graham’s name.”¹³ So perhaps it would be well for us to pause and reflect on our two primary founders and upon the unlikely friendship that helped to give shape and direction to an institution we all love and seek to serve.

Billy Graham

I consider myself especially privileged to have known both of these men. Harold John Ockenga, then president of our seminary, was the one who actually brought me to Gordon-Conwell in 1978 to serve as his Academic Dean during the concluding year of his presidency. And Billy Graham, a close friend of my father, seemed to take a special interest in me from my earliest years -- urging me to go to Wheaton College (which I did) and writing me many wonderful notes of encouragement throughout the years. Dad loved Billy Graham like a brother and Billy Graham, as he himself has expressed to me, held similar sentiments about my Dad.

In any case, my father’s papers include some of the fascinating letters they wrote to each other. In February of 1947, for example, Graham wrote Dad from Birmingham, England, where he was

10 Stuart Barton Babbage, *Memoirs of a Loose Canon* (Brunswick East, Victoria: Acorn Press, 2004), p. 154.

11 George F. Bennett, *Memoirs of a Long Life* (Hingham, MA: privately printed, 2008), pp. 111-112.

12 Garth M. Rosell, “The Ockenga Vision” in Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary *Contact* (Vol. 30, No. 1), pp. 3-6, 10-11, 20-21.

13 Grant Wacker, *America’s Pastor: Billy Graham and the Shaping of a Nation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), p. 31.

planning the first British Youth for Christ Conference to be held in that city. I was feeling “a bit discouraged the day your letter came,” he wrote, but “it helped me a great deal to hear from you.” “You have always been number one on my list,” he continued, and I am “thrilled at the report of all that God has done through you in the various places you have been of late.”

“Thank you for the little word of caution and advice concerning the temptation to be hurt in my heart over the success of the great campaigns here. I know the danger, Merv, and I have cried out to God daily that he would keep me from three things -- pride, money and women. God has wonderfully undertaken in regards to all three. I am trying to keep very near and very close to Him. I want the Holy Spirit to have more of me each day. I feel that during these days of study, preparation and experience I have learned many profitable spiritual lessons.”

“I wish we had time to have a long talk.” “By the way, I have numerous invitations to various parts of the Empire and am thinking seriously of a tour of South Africa next winter. What do you think? I wish we could go together on a tour! You could preach, lead the singing, play and sing, and I could take the collection!!!!!!”¹⁴

Graham’s letter, written nearly three years before Los Angeles and Boston were to bring him international fame, reflects the warmth of personal friendship, the importance of study and preparation, the deep passion for personal holiness, the awareness that genuine ministry can only take place through the power of the Holy Spirit and the priority of spreading the glorious gospel around the globe. These core values -- along with his commitment to the absolute authority of the Bible (a conviction that Graham settled once for all by a stump on the Mount Hermon Conference Grounds in 1949)¹⁵ -- became the guiding principles for his own life and ministry.

Harold John Ockenga

Harold John Ockenga shared all of these same values and priorities -- but he added to them three key convictions of his own: namely, his deep interest in higher education (the life of the mind); his passion for preaching; and his remarkable vision for missional reengagement with the larger culture. Born in 1905 in the city of Chicago, Harold John and his four sisters were reared in a middle-class home by Herman Ockenga (who worked for the Chicago Rapid Transit Company) and his wife Angie (a deeply devout Methodist woman who made sure that the children regularly attended Sunday School and church). At the age of eleven, Harold John was converted at an old-fashioned Methodist camp meeting. Convinced that God had called him to be a preacher, he entered Taylor University in 1923 and immediately became active in Bible study, prayer and preaching. He loved to preach and he did so on over four hundred occasions as a member of the Taylor Evangelistic Team.

Upon graduation from Taylor, “Ocky,” as his friends called him, traveled to Princeton Theological Seminary to begin his theological training. While a student at Princeton he pastored two small Methodist churches in New Jersey, traveled with the Princeton Evangelistic Team and won the New Testament prize for his scholarship. “Princeton,” he wrote in a letter, “is like a monastery in some respects. It is a beautiful aesthetic place for a recluse to spend himself in study. I love it but it gets awfully lonesome at times. My course includes Hebrew, Greek and many other studies. It seems that they cause one’s brain to groan as they stretch it in the enlargement process.”

Harold John would like to have completed his studies at Princeton. The wrenching battles of the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy during the 1920s, however, had caused deep divisions within its faculty and student body. By 1929, at the start of his senior year, it had become apparent that he had no choice but to withdraw from Princeton and to join his favorite mentor, Professor J. Gresham Machen, and others in the newly established Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia. He completed his theological studies there in 1930, and subsequently went on in

14 Billy Graham to Merv Rosell (February 27, 1947) in the Papers of Mervin Rosell.

15 Billy Graham, *Just As I Am: The Autobiography of Billy Graham* (New York: HarperOne, 1997), pp. 137-140.

graduate studies at the University of Pittsburgh, earning the M.A. degree in 1934 and the Ph.D. degree in 1939.

With the help of Machen and Clarence Macartney, the pastor of First Presbyterian Church in Pittsburgh, he secured pastoral positions at First Presbyterian Church in Pittsburgh, where he served as an assistant to Macartney from 1930-1931; Point Breeze Presbyterian Church, a congregation of 950 in Pittsburgh, where he served as pastor from 1931 to 1936; and historic Park Street Church in Boston, where he served as the senior pastor from 1936 until 1969.

It was from his base at Park Street Church that Dr. Ockenga rose to international prominence -- becoming perhaps the most recognized young leader of the resurgent evangelical movement that was sweeping across America and around the world during the 1940s and 1950s.¹⁶

Boston (1950)

Late in 1949, Harold John Ockenga -- while pastor of historic Park Street Church -- took the considerable risk of inviting a young and largely unknown evangelist named Billy Graham to preach at a New Year's Eve rally at Mechanics Hall followed by a ten-day evangelistic series at Park Street Church. Expectations were modest. Graham may have done well in California, some were convinced, but the young evangelist with his brightly colored ties would never survive in the sophisticated environment of Boston!

To the surprise of nearly everyone, however, the New Year's Eve service was packed to overflowing and the sudden surge of interest in the subsequent services made it necessary to rent the largest venues in the city (Orchestra Hall, Mechanics Hall and the Boston Garden) to accommodate the expanding crowds. New Englanders, including the faculty and students at places like Harvard and MIT, seemed suddenly captivated by the young evangelist and the message he proclaimed. "Boston and New England," as observer Mel Larson phrased it, "quivered with revival."¹⁷

The concluding service, held on the Boston Common, April 23, 1950, drew a reported 40,000 people on a rainy Sunday afternoon. A simple wooden platform was erected on exactly the same spot that the great Anglican evangelist, George Whitefield, had addressed 23,000 just before returning to England. That historic gathering, coupled with the meetings throughout New England that preceded it, I am convinced, that helped to forge the deep bond of friendship and trust between Graham and Ockenga -- a friendship that eventually opened the way for their three and a half decade-long collaboration on a wide variety of ministry initiatives. As Billy Graham himself phrased it at Harold John Ockenga's funeral in 1985, held in the Hamilton Congregational Church not far from the seminary, "He was a giant among giants.... Nobody outside of my family influenced me more than he did." "I never made a major decision without first calling and asking his advice and counsel. I thank God for his friendship and for his life."¹⁸

The Vision

Indeed, it was the remarkable friendship between Graham and Ockenga, under the sovereign guidance of God, that made possible the founding of Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary and that gave shape and direction to its educational vision. While Stuart Barton Babbage may have been correct in noting that it was Glenn Barker who first suggested the "bold" idea of a merger of the Conwell School of Theology and the Gordon Divinity School, there can be little question that it

16 For a fuller description of the life and labors of Harold John Ockenga see Garth M. Rosell, *The Surprising Work of God: Harold John Ockenga, Billy Graham and the Rebirth of Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008).

17 Mel Larson, "Tasting Revival," in *Revival in our Time: The Story of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Campaigns, Including Six of His Sermons* (Wheaton, IL: Van Kampen Press, 1950), pp.28-33.

18 This quotation along with a full description of the Boston Common gathering can be found in Rosell, *The Surprising Work of God*, pp. 127-147.

was the partnership and reputation of Ockenga and Graham that made it happen.¹⁹

It was their commitment (1) to the spread of the gospel around the globe, (2) to the renewal of the church through the clear and powerful preaching of the Word of God, (3) to the transformation of culture through Christian influence as “salt and light” in every segment of society and (4) to the raising-up of a new generation of Christian leaders who were well educated and who had a “burning love for Jesus” that helped to set the educational agenda for the new seminary. That is precisely the vision, in fact, that runs like a silver thread through the six articles and commentary of our seminary’s Statement of Mission -- a document (shaped under the skillful hand of David Wells) that has guided our institutional life now for over three decades.

That is also the vision that brought me to Gordon-Conwell in 1978. I recall the conversation I had with President Ockenga at Logan Airport when I was being recruited to come to the seminary as its academic dean. With characteristic precision, he described the seminary’s commitment to the careful study of Scripture (in the original languages) and to the systematic application of the Bible in every arena of life -- from politics and science to higher education and popular culture. With a passion reminiscent of Abraham Kuyper, he called for a reengagement with the academy, for the renewal of mainline Christianity, for a reentry into the public square, for a reinvigoration of the professions, for the extension of biblical justice throughout society and for the spread of the glorious Gospel around the globe.

“The time has come,” declared Ockenga in 1969 at his installation as the first president of our seminary, “for [Christians] to re-emphasize the virtues of purity, honesty, industry, charity, and courtesy. We must allow Christian convictions to penetrate every aspect of our existence -- our education, our work, our entertainment, our family relationships, our culture” -- all the while holding “fast to an unchanging biblical standard of truth and virtue.”²⁰

Institutional Characteristics

Under Ockenga’s leadership, throughout the 1970s, Gordon-Conwell grew and prospered. While programs have come and gone -- and only a handful of the original faculty, staff, administration and Board of Trustees remain -- the core values of the seminary have remained remarkably unchanged.

It is an unfortunate reality, as we are all aware, that educational institutions have seldom remained true to their founding principles. So it should be cause for considerable celebration when an institution such as our own remains steadfast in the midst of a challenging and changing culture. The history of our seminary is an important story to tell, I believe, precisely because of these biblical and theological continuities.

This is no guarantee, of course, that our seminary will remain forever committed to the biblical principles on which it was founded and from which it has drawn its primary strength and purpose. Each one of us -- faculty, students, staff, administration and trustees -- must remain ever vigilant in the defense of biblical truth. What a tragedy it would be if the principles on which we were founded began to fade.

Here is where these brief reflections on the leadership of Harold John Ockenga and Billy Graham can be most helpful. If we have ears to hear, they can challenge us once again to root ourselves deeply in historic orthodoxy, to live in obedience to the Scriptures, to seek to be “salt and light” in a decaying world, and to give ourselves, without reservation, to spreading the life-giving Gospel throughout the world -- in a word, to commit ourselves afresh “to advance Christ’s Kingdom in every sphere of life by equipping Church leaders to think theologically, engage globally

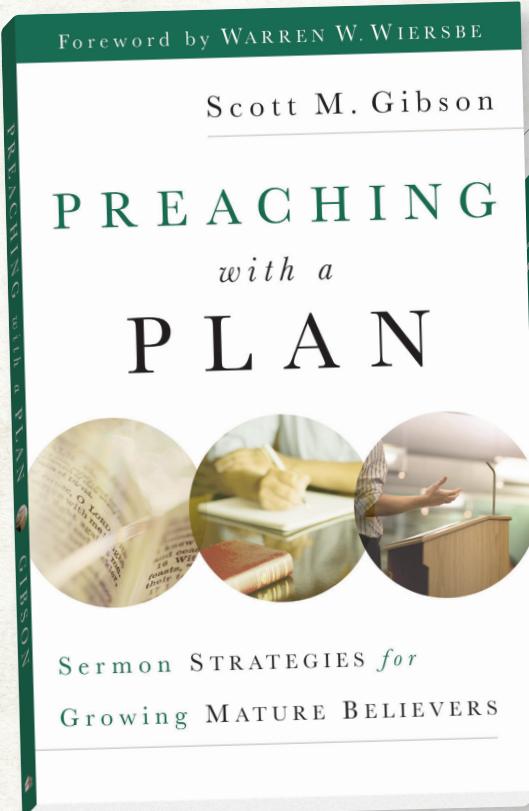
19 Babbage, *Confessions of a Loose Canon*, p. 153.

20 Kerr, “The First 25 Years,” p. 4.

and live biblically.”²¹ As one who will soon be retiring from our beloved seminary, I can only add: “May it ever be so!”

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21 The official vision statement of Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, 2015.



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A Matter of Uneasiness: A.J. Gordon and Theology

SCOTT M. GIBSON

Beginnings

Adoniram Judson Gordon was born into a strict Calvinistic family on 19 April 1836 in New Hampton, New Hampshire. The third of twelve children born to John Calvin and Sally Robinson Gordon, Judson, as he was called by his family, was the first son, and bore the name of the first American Baptist foreign missionary, Adoniram Judson (1788-1850).¹

Gordon's ancestors were among the first settlers to migrate to New Hampton. His mother's family claimed Puritan roots, maintaining that they had descended from John Robinson of Leyden, and also boasting a few Revolutionary War heroes.² On the Gordon side, lineage was traced to Alexander Gordon (1635-1697), who came to America from Scotland in 1651. His descendant John Calvin Gordon (1808-1871) was a Baptist and supporter of foreign missions.³

The Calvinistic Baptists were the first to plant a church in New Hampton in 1872, five years after the town had been incorporated.⁴ Three plots of land were set aside for the support of the minister, the church, and a school. But when the town voted to decide on a settled minister and denomination, the Congregationalists were in the majority and, for a while, the Baptists and Congregationalists shared the town hall for worship with a measure of tension.⁵

Although the Calvinistic Baptists and Congregationalists had their differences, the real friction occurred between the Calvinistic and Freewill Baptists. At this time in the nineteenth century, the seemingly impenetrable fortresses of Calvinism had weakened, becoming more softened, genial, and rational due in part to revivalism, science, and biblical higher criticism.⁶ The Freewill Baptists "maintained that by the sufferings of Christ, salvation was made possible for every individual of Adam's ruined posterity."⁷ The Calvinists held that Christ's atonement was particular in nature, for elected individuals only.

Calvinistic Baptists in New England had become aware of the Arminian encroachment as early as 1775, when lay preacher Benjamin Randall (1749-1808), a convert of the Whitefield revivals, was called to a New Durham, New Hampshire church. For some time, the members of the church had noted that he was not preaching Calvinistic doctrine. When questioned why he did not do so, Randall replied, "Because I do not believe it."⁸ By 1779, he was excommunicated from the church yet maintained a following. Randall's theological revolt against Calvinism gained momentum as other Baptists adopted Arminianism. The Freewill Baptists continued to gain influence in New Hampshire and the surrounding states with evangelical Arminianism which emphasized human free will and allowed for open communion, another doctrine rejected by Calvinistic Baptists.⁹

1 Robert G. Torbet, *A History of the Baptists* (Valley Forge: Judson, 1963), 248-253.

2 Gordon Family Tree 1635 (American Descendants of Alexander Gordon Through Adoniram Judson Gordon), A.J. Gordon Papers, Jenks Library, Gordon College, Wenham, MA.

3 Ibid., For more on A.J. Gordon's lineage, see *Genealogy of the Town of New Hampton, New Hampshire* 2:F-J, Gordon Nash Library, New Hampton, NH.

4 Pauline S. Merrill, "Origins of New Hampton Community Church," typescript; No church records are extant.

5 Ibid., 2; Isaac Backus, *A Church History of New England, with a Particular History of the Baptist Churches in the Five States of New England* 2nd ed. with notes by David Weston, vol. 3 (Boston: Manning & Loring, 1796), 108. See also, Scott M. Gibson, *A.J. Gordon: American Premillennialist* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2001), 2-4.

6 Paul A. Carter, *The Spiritual Crisis of the Gilded Age* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1971), 45, 80.

7 Benedict 2:410.

8 William G. McLoughlin, *New England Dissent 1630-1883: The Baptists and the Separation of Church and State* vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 834.

9 Albert Henry Newman, *A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States* (New York: Scribner's, 1915), 270-271.

The Freewill Baptist church in New Hampton was established in 1800 as a result of the religious revivals conducted by the Arminian Baptist, Winthrop Young. The Freewill Baptist influence on the church of A.J. Gordon's youth was almost immediately felt among the Calvinistic Baptists. The early records of the Calvinistic Baptists are largely lost, but there is indication of significant struggle for survival. During Gordon's childhood, the church held steady, although members had begun to decline. His father would march the large family up the road from the village to the Calvinistic Baptist Meetinghouse every Sunday as they passed the Freewill Baptist Meetinghouse along the way.¹⁰

Another evidence of the Freewill Baptist influence upon A.J. Gordon is seen in his schooling. He entered the New London Literary and Scientific Institution in the autumn of 1853 at age sixteen. Because the academy in New Hampton had been taken over by the Freewill Baptists, John Calvin Gordon would have no part of the Freewill Baptist School. The takeover of the school in New Hampton by the Freewill Baptists meant a theological shift that required the Gordons to send their son to the newly established Calvinistic Baptist academy (New London Literary and Scientific Institution) in New London, New Hampshire.¹¹

The matter of uneasiness reflected in the Arminian/Calvinistic debate had a long-term impact on A.J. Gordon's theology. Throughout his educational and theological training and in his subsequent pastorates, the sense of uneasiness revealed itself. His theology was not as strictly Calvinistic as he apparently considered it to be.¹²

Undergraduate and Theological Education

Gordon entered Brown University at age twenty in September 1856 and spent four years at the first Baptist-related university in the United States. The school reflected the state's heritage of embracing religious dissenters and welcomed students of other denominations.¹³

At Brown, Gordon came under the teaching of Barnas Sears (1802-1880). Sears was president and professor of moral and intellectual philosophy. Sears had studied in Germany under Muller, Gesenius, and the Pietists Neander of Berlin and Tholuck of Halle, whom he admired for his warm manner and evangelical orthodoxy.¹⁴ Sears's theology was a moderate Calvinism which was more associated with "Princeton, rather than New Haven or with Andover."¹⁵ The mixture resulted in an evangelical Calvinism fueled by a strain of German pietism. Sears provided Gordon with a model of integrity, piety, and learning; and, when he died, Gordon participated in his funeral service.¹⁶

Faculty member, John L. Lincoln (1817-1891), professor of Latin Language and Literature, had also studied for three years under the German pietists.¹⁷ When Gordon established his monthly periodical, *The Watchword*, of his former professors at Brown, Lincoln was the only one who occasionally contributed articles to the magazine.

The first indication of A.J. Gordon's personal interest in missions took place at Brown. He was

10 Merrill, "Origins," 11-12.

11 Pauline Swain Merrill, John C. Gowan and others, *A Small Gore of Land: A History of New Hampton, New Hampshire founded in 1777* (New Hampton: New Hampton Bicentennial Committee, 1976-1977), 90, 99.

12 A.J. Gordon, letter to Alvah Hovey, 4 March 1890, Alvah Hovey Papers, Andover Newton Theological Seminary Archives.

13 Donald G. Tewksbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), 111; Torbet, 305-308; *The Charter of Brown University with Amendments and Notes* (Providence: Brown University, 1945), 15.

14 Alvah Hovey, *Barnas Sears, A Christian Educator His Making and Work* (New York & Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co., 1902), 36.

15 O.S. Stearns, "Dr. Sears as a Theological Professor," *Baptist Quarterly Review* 5:1 (January 1883): 77.

16 "Religious Intelligence," *Watchman* 15 July 1880: 4.

17 William E. Lincoln, *In Memoriam: John Larkin Lincoln 1817-1891* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1894), 25, 82; "Prof. John Larkin Lincoln," *Watchman* 22 October 1891:5.

part of the Society for Missionary Inquiry.¹⁸ Missions, a concern of his parents, had now become his interest. His regard for the missionary cause was cultivated, and his leadership roles in the mission society were preparatory for his position on the American Baptist Missionary Union Executive Committee and his part in missionary enterprises outside his denomination.

Gordon attended at least two different Baptist churches while at Brown—a new plant, Brown Street Baptist Church, which eventually folded, and the historic First Baptist Church.¹⁹ One classmate observed of Gordon that he prayed a lot.²⁰ Another classmate, Henry S. Burrage, noted that when Gordon was yet a sophomore he was “already a preacher, and a strong religious force in the college.”²¹

Upon graduation from Brown, Gordon spent the next three years at Newton Theological Institution. Each year he had courses in Hebrew and Greek exegesis, biblical interpretation, theology, ethics, Church history, preaching, and polity.²² The faculty at Newton in 1860 consisted of Horatio B. Hackett, professor of Biblical Literature and Interpretation, Alvah Hovey, professor of Christian Theology, and Arthur S. Train, professor of Sacred Rhetoric and Pastoral Duties who taught students to preach.

Gordon had an interest and skill in biblical exegesis and interpretation and was taught by Hackett (1808-1875), who trained at Andover under Moses Stuart (1780-1852), another former pupil of German pietists Neander and Tholuck. Hackett became a Baptist in 1835.²³ To what extent Gordon had been influenced in his exegesis and theology by Hackett is uncertain, but he did reflect much of Hackett’s style and attitude toward Scripture study. He admired his former professor and often appreciatively referred to Hackett’s scholarship in his articles, lectures, and books.²⁴

The other faculty member at Newton to have an enduring relationship with Gordon was Alvah Hovey (1820-1903), professor of Christian Theology. He had trained at Newton under Barnas Sears. During his long career at Newton, Hovey taught a wide range of courses, and from 1868-1898 he served as president.²⁵ Hovey’s theology was eclectic, yet his conclusions were in keeping with traditional evangelical teaching of the period.²⁶

Newton emphasized to its students the authority of the Bible, a reverence for the text, and a traditional Calvinistic understanding of theology with an appreciation for pietism.²⁷ With the rise of a more moderate Calvinism and the shifting theological influences of nineteenth century revivalism, there continued to be this matter of uneasiness for A.J. Gordon, as he moved from his days as a student at Brown and at Newton to his pastorates at Jamaica Plain and Boston, Massachusetts.

Boston and Beyond

The six years A.J. Gordon spent as the pastor of the Baptist Church in Jamaica Plain were foundational for his future ministry. In July 1863, A.J. Gordon became the pastor of the Baptist

18 “Society of Missionary Inquiry in Brown University 1854-1891,” John Hays Library, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island.

19 Joseph Ricker, *Personal Recollections: A Contribution to Baptist History and Biography* (Augusta: Burleigh & Flynt, 1894), 251.

20 Reuben A. Guild, “Gordon in College,” *Brunonian* 9 February 1895: 276.

21 Henry S. Burrage, “Rev. A.J. Gordon, D.D.,” *Brunonian* 9 February 1895: 276.

22 *Annual Catalogue of the Newton Theological Institution 1860-61*, 9-11.

23 Henry S. Burrage, “Horatio B. Hackett,” *Baptist Quarterly* 10:4 (October 1876): 409; cf., George H. Whittenmore, ed., *Memorials of Horatio Balch Hackett* (Rochester: n.p., 1876). Hackett dedicated his *Commentary on the Original Text of Acts of the Apostles* (Boston: J.P. Jewett, 1852) to Tholuck.

24 For example, A.J. Gordon, “The Worship of Sickness,” *The Watchword* 8:4 (June 1886): 75; A.J. Gordon, “Personal Preaching: A Lecture to Theological Students,” *The Watchword* 11:12 (December 1889): 291-292.

25 *Dictionary of American Biography* 9:270; George Rice Hovey, *Alvah Hovey* (Philadelphia: Judson, 1928).

26 Henry M. King, “Alvah Hovey as Theologian and Teacher,” *Baptist Review and Expositor* 1:2 (July 1904): 163.

27 During the 1860s Baptists shared the predominant belief in the Bible’s authority and inspiration. See Norman H. Maring, “Baptists and the Changing Views of the Bible, 1865-1918, Part One,” *Foundations* 1:3 (July 1958): 52; cf., William Newton Clarke, *Sixty Years with the Bible* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1909), 41-50.

Church in Jamaica Plain, a village on the outskirts of Boston. He was ordained there and the church grew under his leadership.²⁸

His contemporaries recognized his potential and praised him for his effectiveness. Boston pastor J.D. Fulton (1828-1901) of the Union Temple Church (Tremont Temple) remarked with partiality in his occasional column to the *Chicago Christian Times*: “He is a man of brain,—cf. heart and culture,—and is worth too much to be lost in the ranks of men who are distinguished for they do not attempt more than what they achieve. Mr. Gordon has the elements of power and strength. His preaching in Jamaica Plain proves it.”²⁹

Others observed that he had latent gifts that needed to be drawn out. Just after arriving at Jamaica Plain, he was invited to participate in one of the monthly gatherings of pastors and professors called “The Theological Circle.” Membership in the Circle was by invitation only and consisted of about fifteen participants.³⁰ The group met on the second Monday of each month, usually at a hotel in Boston. First, a member presented a paper on a theological topic, which was examined for doctrine, style, and delivery. Following dinner, they discussed the books and articles read since the last meeting, with each member reporting to the group. It was through the Circle that Gordon began to forge some of his life-long professional links and where he tested his theological discoveries.

During his ministry at Jamaica Plain and later at the Clarendon Street Baptist Church in Boston, Gordon developed several emphases that marked his theological perspective and were a matter of uneasiness with himself and some of his fellow Baptists.

Of all the theological positions that A.J. Gordon adopted, the premillennial second coming of Jesus Christ had the most influence and demonstrated the greatest impact on his theology and practice of ministry. While at Jamaica Plain, Gordon happily let go of the postmillennial position of most Calvinists of his day and embraced premillennialism.

The millenarian influence in both the United States and Great Britain was seen in two schools of thought—premillennialism and postmillennialism, the former called for the return of Christ before the 1,000 years of peace and justice, while the latter looked to Christ’s coming after the millennium. This millennial enthusiasm was promoted early in the century by Scottish preacher Edward Irving (1792-1834) and later, most prominently, by John Nelson Darby (1800-1882). Both led their own groups: Irving, the Catholic Apostolic Church, and Darby, the Plymouth Brethren, which had wider influence.

Darby was trained to be a lawyer, but turned to Anglican orders and then to separatism. Darby advocated a slightly different position from those who had preceded him—futurism. Instead of viewing the events in Revelation as completed in the daily events of history, Darby contended that the events listed after the first three chapters of Revelation have yet to occur. Darby developed a conference, traveled widely, and wrote extensively, promoting his view of futurism, in addition to the position that the established churches of Christendom in general were apostate and that all true believers must separate from those churches in order to maintain purity before God.³¹

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Darby’s teaching had already reached the United States. But America had long been saturated with interest in prophecy and the millennium. The

28 “Ministers and Churches,” *Watchman and Reflector* 2 July 1863: 2; Jamaica Plain Clerk Report, 1840-1864, 1864-1879; James Pike, ed., *History of the Churches of Boston, Division One: Baptist and Presbyterian* (Boston: Ecclesia Publishing Company, 1883), 65; *Annual Report of the Massachusetts Baptist Convention* 1863-1869.

29 Quoted in “Ministers and Churches,” *Christian Watchman and Reflector* 8 November 1866: 2.

30 Records of the Theological Circle, Andover Newton Theological Seminary Archives.

31 F. Roy Coad, *A History of the Brethren Movement: Its Origins, its Worldwide Development and its Significance for the Present Day* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968), 25-35, 55-57; H.A. Ironside, *A Historical Sketch of the Brethren Movement* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1942), 7-12, 181-195; Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1970), 31-41.

Puritan fathers blended American nationalism with millennial hope. Jonathan Edwards became the first postmillennialist theologian. The United States spawned the Mormons with Joseph Smith (1805-1844) and the Campbellites led by Alexander Campbell (1788-1866), each in search of millennial hope, and William Miller (1782-1849) who disappointed a band of well-intentioned believers with a so-called exact date of the return of Christ—in 1843, then later readjusted to 1844.³² Actually, Miller's doctrine of the last times differed little from that of British nineteenth-century millenarians. He adhered to the belief that Christ would return, judge the wicked, and cleanse the world by fire. These ideas reflected the same assumptions that the British and continental historic premillenarians espoused—the Bible prophecies were literally fulfilled in chronological sequence and viewed through the year-day theory. The year-day theory interpreted the 1,250 days mentioned in Daniel and Revelation to mean 1,250 years.³³

There were other premillenarians similar to the Millerites who espoused an historicist view, although they had no set dates for the return of Christ. These were found mostly among the ranks of Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Advent Christians, a denomination that emerged from the main body of ex-Millerites.³⁴ Perhaps the most well-known American historicist premillenarian of the day was George Duffield (1874-1868), pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Detroit, who published two defenses of the historicist premillennial position.³⁵ European historicists included George Muller and H. Grattan Guinness.³⁶

After five years at Jamaica Plain, Gordon was introduced to the teaching of premillennialism.³⁷ This introduction, which satisfied his hunger for understanding the prophetic, curiously came through discussions of two unnamed laypersons. Looking back over his ministry, he recalled, “I well remember in my early ministry hearing two humble and consecrated laymen speaking of this hope in the meetings of the church, and urging it upon Christians as the ground of unworldliness and watchfulness of life.”³⁸

At the end of his life, Gordon regretted that he had not preached the Second Coming of Christ during the first five years of his ministry.³⁹ He considered this failure to be a woeful deficit and blamed it on two influences. First, his spiritual upbringing in New Hampshire had been lacking with regard to the Second Advent. “Of all the sermons heard from childhood on,” he wrote, “I do not remember listening to a single one upon this subject.”⁴⁰ Secondly, he attributed his ignorance of the topic to the prevailing teaching of postmillennialism at Newton Theological Institution. He wrote, “In the theological course, while this truth had its place, indeed, it was taught as in most

32 Winthrop S. Hudson, *Religion in America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981), 191-197; Torbet, 279-280; Wayne R. Judd, “William Miller: Disappointed Prophet,” *The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the Nineteenth Century* eds., Ronald L. Numbers and Jonathan M. Butler (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987), 17-35.

33 Albert C. Johnson, *Advent Christian History* (Boston: Advent Christian Publication Society, 1918), 51-56; David A. Dean, “Traditional Adventism,” *Putting the Pieces Together: Advent Christians Interpret Prophecy*, ed., Freeman Barton (Lenox, MA: Henceforth Publications, 1983), 56-80; Miller denied the necessity of a prophetic future for national Israel; Sandeen, 51-55.

34 Sandeen, 55-56.

35 George Duffield, *Dissertations on the Prophecies Relative to the Second Coming of Jesus Christ* (New York: Dayton & Newman, 1842); *Millerism Defended: A Reply to Dr. Stuart's “Strictures on the Rev. G. Duffield's Recent Work on the Second Coming of Christ.”* (New York: M.H. Newman, 1843); Sandeen, 56; *Dictionary of American Biography* 5:490-491.

36 Coad, 297-300; H. Grattan and Fanny E. Guinness, *Fallacies of Futurism: A Reply to Futurist Objections to the Historic Interpretation of Prophecy* (London, n.d.); cf., James H. Brookes, “Historical and Futurist Views,” *The Truth* 12:11 (October 1886): 490-493.

37 D.L. Moody, *Ten Days With D.L. Moody, Comprising a Collection of His Sermons, Also Sermons and Addresses by Prominent Christian Workers at the Christian Convention Held at Northfield, Mass., the Home of D.L. Moody* (New York: J.S. Ogilvie, 1886), 152-153.

38 A.J. Gordon, *How Christ Came to Church: The Pastor's Dream. A Spiritual Autobiography* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1895), 21.

39 Ibid., 20.

40 Ibid., 21.

theological seminaries of this country, according to the post-millennial interpretation; and with the most reverent respect for the teachers holding this view I must express my mature conviction that, though the doctrine of our Lord's second coming is not ignored in this system, it is placed in such a setting as to render it quite impractical as a theme for preaching and quite inoperative as a motive for Christian living.”⁴¹

The two laymen, to whom Gordon referred, may have been associated with the Plymouth Brethren, for they taught futuristic premillennialism. This discovery of premillennialism changed Gordon's life. Although a conventional Baptist, he rethought his entire theology. Being a man of intense drive and focus, he spent hours consulting with others and studying the works of futurist Plymouth Brethren.⁴² He was exploring what some Baptists would call a foreign theology. He confessed, “So the writer bears joyful testimony that the discovery of this primitive doctrine of the gospel, the personal pre-millennial coming of Christ, constituted a new era in his study of the word of God, and gave an opening-out into vistas of truth hitherto undreamed of.”⁴³

But he held the futurist view only for a short time, abandoning it for the historic interpretation which maintained that the antichrist had come in the system of the papacy and that the events chronicled in the book of Revelation have been continuously fulfilled from the time of Christ's ascension until now.⁴⁴ In his book on historic premillennialism, *Ecce Venit*, he explained why he changed his prophetic interpretation. He wrote, “If we turn away from the Futurist interpretation—in which we were ‘nourished and brought up’ so far as our prophetic studies are concerned—and express our firm adherence to the Historical, it is because we believe that the latter is more scriptural.”⁴⁵ He considered the Futurist interpretation to be “lame in all its feet.”⁴⁶ He himself avoided the pitfalls of other historicists who had a penchant for date setting.⁴⁷

After much study, Gordon made the unconventional decision to make the premillennial Second Coming of Jesus Christ to form the center of his theology and hermeneutic. He compared this choice to a “second conversion,” one that provided “the strongest and most permanent impulse of his [my] ministry.”⁴⁸ This matter of uneasiness had its greatest impact upon every aspect of his ministry.

In his first book, *In Christ*, written in part during his ministry at Jamaica Plain, he commented on the redemption of the body, and his understanding of its relationship to the Second Coming. He noted, “Not only is this the end event towards which the universal longing of creation is directed, but the hope as involved in the return of the Lord Jesus Christ to which all Christian doctrines point, and to which each ordinance is divinely adjusted.”⁴⁹ Elsewhere, he observed, “the theme of Christ's coming in glory is second to none in Scripture, not even to the atonement itself, in the claim which it makes upon our consideration.”⁵⁰ Yet, he realized the problems—the matter of uneasiness—that belief in the doctrine could create, and affirmed with others that eschatology would be the theological battlefield for the next fifty years.⁵¹

41 Ibid., 20-21.

42 Ibid., 21.

43 Ibid., 27.

44 A.J. Gordon, *Ecce Venit* (New York: Revell, 1889), vi-viii.

45 Ibid., v; see also A.J. Gordon, “Light for the Last Days,” *The Watchword* 8:7 (September 1886): 152.

46 A.J. Gordon, “Book Notices,” *The Watchword* 11:11 (November 1889): 288.

47 A.J. Gordon, “Not to be Professed,” *The Watchword* 5:11 (August 1883): 243; cf., Robert G. Clouse, “The Danger of Mistaken Hope,” *Dreams, Visions and Oracles*, eds., Carl Edwin Armerding and W. Ward Gasque (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1977), 27-37; James E. Bear, “Historic Premillennialism,” *Union Seminary Review* 40:3 (May 1944): 207.

48 Gordon, *How Christ Came*, 22.

49 A.J. Gordon, *In Christ or, The Believer's Union with His Lord* (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1872), 185.

50 Gordon, *Ecce Venit*, v.

51 A.J. Gordon, “The New Version and Eschatology,” *The Watchword* 3:12 (September 1881): 242.

The Impact of Premillennialism

The Second Coming of Jesus Christ was Gordon's passion—it consumed his thinking, his theology, and the practice of ministry. Every aspect of his ministry was considered through the lens of historic premillennialism. We will consider a few of the areas of ministry on which A.J. Gordon's theological perspective of premillennialism had an impact.

First, his understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit found its critical link in the overarching doctrine of the Second Coming of Christ. He believed that all history pointed to this end. His view of history involved three distinct periods: The Age of the Father—the Old Testament; the Age of the Son—Christ's ministry on earth; and, the Age of the Holy Spirit—Pentecost until the return of Christ.⁵² “Just as Jesus Christ had a time-ministry which he came to fulfill, and having accomplished it returned to the Father,” he wrote, “so the Holy Spirit, for the fulfillment of a definite mission, came into the world at an appointed time; he is now carrying on his ministry on earth, and in due time he will complete it and ascend to heaven again.”⁵³ “The present is the dispensation of the Holy Ghost,” he declared, “the age-work which he inaugurated on the day of Pentecost is now going on, and it will continue until the Lord Jesus returns from heaven, when another order will be ushered in and another dispensational ministry succeed.”⁵⁴

An issue which expressed the work of the Holy Spirit among believers is the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the question of open or close communion—the practice of communion for all Christians from any evangelical church (open) or for members only (close). Here the influence upon Gordon by the Freewill Baptists and revivalism of the period becomes clear. He supported the minority position of open communion, which he managed to implement at Jamaica Plain and at Clarendon Street Baptist Church.⁵⁵

Second, Gordon's emphasis on missions was placed under the canopy of premillennialism. His advocacy of the Second Coming led him to develop a doctrine of haste, of reaching as many people as possible with the gospel, before the coming of the Lord.⁵⁶ His book, *The Holy Spirit in Missions*, is an argument for reaching the world through missions set in the framework of premillennialism.⁵⁷ In addition, the missionary training school he founded in 1889 was also established in the context of premillennialism, even though Gordon tried to deflect such criticism.⁵⁸

Third, if the founding of the training school was a departure from traditional educational practice of the day, so also was his support of premillennialist women to move from missionary or colporteur to evangelist and pastor, though these cases appear to be exceptional. In his premillennialist hermeneutic, Gordon understood women in ministry—especially preaching women—as unique signs which guaranteed the Second Coming of Christ.⁵⁹

The above listing represents only a few of the areas in which A.J. Gordon's position on premillennialism had a theological and practical impact. But the representative list provides us with a sense of this unique doctrine's sway on Gordon's thinking.

52 A.J. Gordon, *The Ministry of the Spirit* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1894), 16.

53 Ibid., 14.

54 Ibid., 15-16. Gordon's use of the word, “dispensation” is not to be confused with the futurist dispensationalism of Darby.

55 A.J. Gordon, “Open Communion,” *Watchman and Reflector* 28 January 1869: 1.

56 Scott M. Gibson, “Making Haste: A.J. Gordon in 1889,” *Shaping a Heritage*, ed., Ann Ferguson (Wenham, MA: Gordon College, 1989): 9-21.

57 A.J. Gordon, *The Holy Spirit in Missions* (New York: Revell, 1893).

58 A.J. Gordon, letter to Alvah Hovey, 4 March 1890, Andover Newton Theological School Archives.

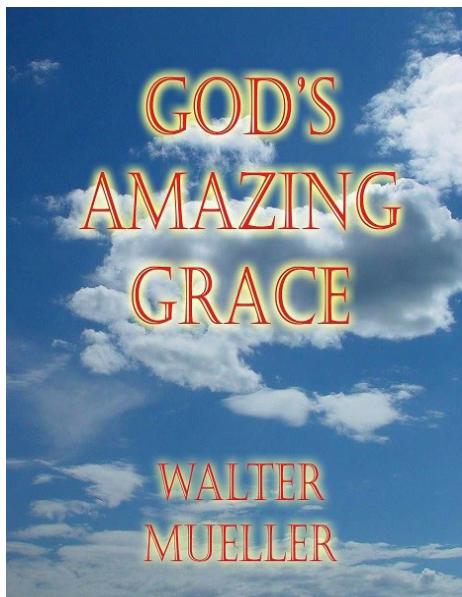
59 A.J. Gordon, “Address Delivered By Rev. A.J. Gordon, D.D. Before the Evangelistic Association of New England,” *The Evangelist* 29 (October 1891): 4; Records of the Theological Circle, 12 June 1865, Andover Newton Theological School Archives; A.J. Gordon, “May a Woman Prophesy?” *Christian Era* 15 May 1873: 1; A.J. Gordon, “Should Women Prophesy?” *Watchword* 7:11 (January 1887): 248.

Conclusion

What we discover from a brief examination of A.J. Gordon's theology is the profound impact the doctrine of the premillennial return of Christ had upon him. The doctrine itself created a matter of uneasiness for Gordon in terms of his Calvinistic cradle and educational training—both of which were influenced by the shifting view of evangelistic Calvinism with the rise of revivalism, positioning Gordon to be open to new ideas and approaches to ministry. This flexible environment of moderate Calvinism opened the door for premillennialism to take root in Gordon's theological thinking.

There are many pathways that lead to A.J. Gordon. He reflected the eclectic nature of American theology—premillennialism, moderate Calvinism, holiness sensibilities, social commitments, and Biblicism. All are part of the complexities of this uneasy-at-times Boston Baptist pastor.

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About the Author

Dr. Walter Mueller is a minister in the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A). He was one of the original professors in the Conwell School of theology. His undergraduate degree is in Classical Languages and Literature. He has two masters degrees and an earned doctorate. He is the author/editor of eight books. He is a contributor to numerous journals and publications including the Wycliffe Bible Encyclopedia, a publication of Moody Press. His book Amazing Grace is available in both ebook form and soft cover from Amazon.com.

About the Book

The hymn Amazing Grace is probably the most popular hymn today. Written by John Newton as an autobiographical expression of his experience of grace, it expresses many of the ways Newton came to know the grace of God. The book is an attempt to convey the message of the hymn with illustrations from the life of the author.



Reminiscences on the Early Days of Conwell School of Theology (former faculty)

WALTER MUELLER

First, I want to thank Bill and Aída Spencer for the opportunity to reminisce about the early days of Conwell School of Theology. There is nothing that an octogenarian would rather do than reminisce. The short term memory may leave something to be desired, but the long term memory is excellent.

It was over fifty years ago that Temple University in Philadelphia was incorporated into the Pennsylvania system of colleges. Of course a state school could not have a sectarian seminary. It went instead to a School of Religion. Many did not know that Temple had been originally founded by Russell Conwell as a school to train future ministers. (Conwell had seven students when he began; there were over 40,000 when the Conwell School was formed.) For historical reasons, the seminary had to be continued as an independent school to be known as Conwell School of Theology. J. Howard Pew of the Sun Oil Company, an evangelical, thought Philadelphia should have a first class evangelical theological seminary so he pledged, through the Pew foundation, to back the new school financially.

In the 1960's I saw an announcement in *Christianity Today* about the new school opening under the presidency of Stuart Barton Babbage, an Australian scholar whose reputation was well known to me. I do not remember how I discovered Dr. Babbage's address, but I wrote to him to offer my services as a teacher in the New Testament department. Several weeks later, he called me to arrange an interview at his home. I went and, after several hours chatting together, I was hired as Lecturer in New Testament Language and Literature. I found myself among many unknown faculty members and three well known persons: Dr. Babbage, Dr. Philip Edgcumbe Hughes, a South African scholar, and Henry Barraclough, a hymnist (author of "Ivory Palaces"). Though the others were unknown, some were later to become quite well known. Gary Ross Collins (psychologist), Richard Lovelace (church historian), and R. C. Sproul (apologist) were among those who attained a certain fame.

When I first entered what was the seminary building, I was amazed at the interior. The Board of Trustees had purchased the old Widener Mansion at Broad Street and Girard Avenue near the Temple campus. From the outside, it looked like a large, old building. From the inside, it was magnificent. I had never seen such large rooms, high ceilings, or ornate bathrooms.

My first experience at the school was teaching a Greek class. Bill Spencer was one of the students. In order to make it easier to learn the various conjugations and declensions, I prepared a number of charts that I had used to master the language. The class said that I should attempt to get them published. I had not thought of that, but, after due consideration, decided to give it a try. I asked Philip Hughes if he would write a Foreword and I submitted it to Eerdmans. Several weeks later it was accepted and published in 1972. It is still available (in paperback as well as on Kindle) and used in several seminaries (thank you, class). I taught several New Testament courses in addition to Greek—Romans and New Testament Introduction (Aída Besançon [now Spencer] was in that class. She did not take Greek. I believe Bill taught her later).

In addition to teaching, I was the full time pastor of a church. I put this in because I view this as a positive factor. As a pastor who took his responsibilities seriously, I think I was better equipped to teach future pastors. Many times, the students had practical questions that I was able to answer. It is my opinion that seminary professors should be required to have practical experience before they

can teach. They should not be completely of the “ivory tower” sort. They should have a “pastor’s heart.”

The reason I taught so few courses was that, very soon after the seminary opened, talk about a merger with Gordon Divinity School was considered. Billy Graham was vice-chairman of the Board of Trustees of Conwell. (I believe he was also on the Board of Gordon Divinity.) And he thought a merger was in the best interest of both schools. Naturally, the faculty at Conwell did not agree with him since we all stood to lose our jobs. In retrospect, I, for one, think it was a wise move. I proved that by suggesting to my oldest son that he attend Gordon-Conwell, which he did. My grandson is now considering enrolling.

With the closing of the school at the end of the 1969–70 school year, the students had to decide their future paths. Many of the students went to Massachusetts to Gordon-Conwell. Bill Spencer and Aída Besançon, since they were Presbyterians, chose to go to Princeton. My church was in driving distance from Princeton so I asked Bill to consider coming to work with me as the church’s youth leader. Due to a previous commitment, at the First Presbyterian Church of Dunellen, New Jersey, he could not accept the offer, but volunteered to get another student. He got a young man named Phil Douglas, currently a professor at Covenant Seminary. He started the greatest youth program the church had ever had. The part-time youth worker position grew into a full-time assistant’s position. Thank you, Bill!

One of the positive points about the seminary was the family type atmosphere that prevailed between the faculty members and the students. I made some longtime friends both among the faculty and among the students: Dr. Hughes (I was asked to participate in Philip’s funeral service), Graham Smith, and Bill and Aída Spencer.

Lest one think that everything at Conwell came up roses, I should cite several negatives. Some faculty members had been carried over from Temple whose theology was not consistent with the seminary’s stated purpose. They had to be let go. Some of them did not take their dismissal too kindly and tried to make trouble. I felt sorry for Dr. Babbage.

More personally, there were eight students from a common background in one of my classes who turned in papers that were evidently plagiarized. One husband and wife couple turned in exactly the same paper. I was able to identify the source material of seven. The eighth I was certain I could remember reading before, but I could not remember where. I failed seven but had to pass the eighth.

When I stopped teaching at Conwell, I took a position as an adjunct professor at Geneva College’s Center for Urban Theological Studies in Philadelphia. I continued teaching there for about twenty-five or thirty years.

Dr. Walter Mueller is a retired minister in the Presbyterian Church, USA. He has served three churches in a full time capacity and several others as an interim pastor. He has a bachelor’s degree in Classical Languages and Literature, two masters’ degrees, and a doctorate. In addition to serving as a pastor, Dr. Mueller has served as an adjunct member of several seminary faculties and a college faculty for over twenty-five years. He is the author of numerous books including *Grammatical Aids for Students of New Testament Greek*, which is a standard text in many colleges and seminaries. He provided several entries for *The Wycliffe Bible Encyclopedia* and has written numerous articles and book reviews for a variety of publications. Dr. Mueller and Janet, his wife of over sixty years, have three sons (all of whom have been engaged in some sort of ministry) who with their wives have blessed them with ten grandchildren and three great grandchildren.

The Seminary of the Future: Reflections on Gordon-Conwell Philadelphia (Former Student)

WILLIAM DAVID SPENCER

The need for deeper training for all his zealous college students had become obvious to The Reverend (eventually Doctor of Philosophy) Allen Ruscito (known affectionately to all and sundry as Rev. Al). The Jesus Movement was in full swing. He had college students helping with the youth group and not just on Sundays for Sunday School and Youth Group on Sunday nights, but all week long throughout the summer months. The First Presbyterian Church of Dunellen, New Jersey ("Dunellen Pres" to the students), strategically situated next to a park which doubled as the local youth hangout, had aggressive, often student-led initiatives operating in church nearly every night of the week under his skillful mentoring. Youth-run prayer and Bible Study the first half of the week served as a debriefing and reequipping session for the evangelistic *Agapē* Coffee House that comprised the rest of the week and targeted the "kids in the park." The high schoolers who staffed it were all from around the town and the college students who led it were on local secular campuses. The Rutgers contingent, of which I was a part, had InterVarsity Christian Fellowship (IVCF), which is how, since he had volunteered as a regular guest speaker, Rev. Al had met us. But other collegians in smaller schools had no Christian parachurch training groups besides what they and their friends could bring together and depended on the Sunday morning college and career group Rev. Al ran for some spiritual input.

So Rev. Al invented an enrichment program of deeper instruction for the young leaders and dubbed it "The Institute of Christian Leadership." It ran on Tuesday evenings, the one free night each week, and he invited all the local speakers he thought were worth hearing to talk on whatever topic they chose. Episodic and sporadic in quality, perhaps, but, for several of us, Rev. Al's institute was life-changing when one of the speakers, a zealous young local assistant pastor working with Dr. Julian Alexander at the Willow Grove Presbyterian Church in nearby Scotch Plains, electrified us all with a vision of deeper learning. He had just completed his doctorate and was heading down to Philadelphia to teach church history at a seminary on the Temple University campus in North Philadelphia. With the sweeping certitude so typical of his style, he urged us all to come and study with him. His name was Richard Lovelace.

The Vietnam War was grinding on in the late 1960s and my draft number was low, so it all seemed a dream to me, but I told my fellow graduating friends at Rutgers IVCF about his presentation and a cadre of aspiring seminarians squeezed into my car and I drove the three hours to Philadelphia, locating the august looking building that housed the seminary on the impressive Temple campus. Prof. Lovelace was nowhere to be seen, but an enthusiastic young scholar hosted us and toured us to all the high spots throughout the building, including showing us the desk where Philip Edgcumbe Hughes had written his famous commentary on 2 Corinthians. Neither Prof. Hughes nor his work was familiar to us, but we were duly impressed anyway by our guide's enthusiasm. Later on, when we started to use commentaries, we figured out what all the shouting was about.

A short time later, immediately after graduation, I showed up dutifully at the draft board, was conducted through the battery of examinations, classified provisionally as 1-A, until arriving at the final doctor who asked me if I had ever had an ulcer. I admitted I'd developed a small duodenal one from cutting too much weight as co-captain of my high school wrestling team, an event that had hospitalized me and, thereby, ruined the first two months of my college career, making the whole first year difficult. He pointed out the military did not want me until five years had elapsed and he

made me 1-Y, the one year temporary classification. "Go out and have fun for a year," he counseled me, "then report for duty."

With my extended family split between Jehovah's Witnesses and Christian Scientists, my parents being a lone island of fundamentalist Christianity weathering in the center, I immediately resolved to go to Conwell, assuring myself I could learn Greek and Hebrew in that one year, so I could answer all the theological questions I had bracketed, while sifting through the mountains of material my aunt and uncle and cousins on both sides had dumped on me as soon as they saw my interest in "religion," as they pictured it. All of them had missed the fact that it was not religion, but a relationship with a loving, omnipotent God that had attracted me. The Temple school was my answer.

But, when my folks and I arrived, we discovered the impressive building I had toured was now empty. We were directed off campus to a beautiful, stately mansion resting on the corner of Broad and Girard Streets, in the heart of the city just on the border between North Philly and Center City, across the street from the "Wimpy Burgers" fast-food emporium. Outside, the building appeared to be just another impressive brownstone isolated by suburban flight to fare as best it could as the cabled street cars screeched around it. Inside, however, it was another world entirely, elegant beyond expectation, with mahogany doors with bendable brass keys, parquet floors recently uncovered, ornately tiled bathrooms and window lit salon styled spaces converted to classrooms above a spacious central reception hall, replete with a balcony for housing orchestras now silenced for societal events long forgotten. In the interim, the "Old Widener Mansion," as everyone called it, had done time as the public library, but, with the assistance of J. Howard Pew of Sun Oil (and Sunoco) fame, it had been salvaged to house Conwell, which had moved from the Temple campus in the interim between our visit and my arrival ("kicked off, because the university had taken secular government contracts and didn't want a sectarian school on campus," we were regularly informed, though whether that was true or not I could never verify beyond rumor). Since Temple University had begun as an outgrowth of the minister training school, such a churlish action seemed inconceivable to me, but, whatever the real reason, Temple's loss was our gain. The Conwell School of Theology, as it was now called, was a treasure and deserved every elegant architectural feature to grace what it offered. Its mission was providing classic, historic, traditional ministerial education in the thriving heart of the urban environment. To ensure that happened, the board of trustees, comprised of local pastors and business people, entrusted the former dean of Sydney and Melbourne Cathedrals Dr. Stuart Barton Babbage to be the first (and, as it turned out, the last) Conwell School of Theology president. The choice was an excellent one. As a church historian, this already famous Australian Scholar was both traditional and edgy at the same time. His classes on the early church were illuminating and the texts he chose like Cyril Richardson's *Early Christian Fathers* were primary-source based.

At the same time, he had the courage to helm this urban seminary, he also had a droll sense of humor. After fifty years of city ministry, I've noticed that few last in the pressure cooker of the city without one. Inside, a pastor is either laughing or crying about the things that happen and gentle laughter, which makes a heart, humble, less brittle, gets more mileage. Dr. Babbage exemplified this approach. One day, he showed up at class in a full body bandage. All of us were deeply concerned and crowded around him as he painfully picked his way into class. In his best vaudevillian style, he placed the blame fully on a "potted palm" that he claimed tripped him intentionally as he was carrying it downstairs. It apparently hadn't wanted to move, he explained. At another time, a student who wanted to be known by a nickname asked if he had a name he preferred to be used in off-hours. He grinned sardonically and announced we could call him "Kiwi." None of us, of course, ever did. Droll and brilliant, his class presentations sparkled with wit and insight and his unswerving devotion to historic orthodoxy was convicting and convincing.

Conwell had its share of unexpected and even jarring experiences. North Philadelphia was like

an armed camp in the late 1960s. Chief and then Commissioner Rizzo had kept it from having a riot, but it felt like a police state. One of the most unnerving features was a propensity for the neighborhood to shoot Temple students. No clear motive emerged except a sense of inequity. I once quipped we Conwell students should all wear helmets that read, “Not a Temple Student. Don’t Shoot – 200 points.” One of my housemates went out evangelizing and was attacked by a neighbor with a two-by-four. Someone else sitting on a porch had to conduct him personally off that block. Another student attempting door to door evangelism had a dog leap through a screen and attack him. Theft was common. Parking was inadequate, much like CUME today. One off-duty policeman who was studying with us in the evenings parked in the shadowy alley behind the building and had his battery stolen during class. My fiancée, Aída, came once to visit us four Conwell guys in the home we rented from another policeman and, in the one hour she was inside, chatting with us, someone made off with her right headlamp off her Borgward. A Borgward, for those unfamiliar with it, was an inefficient attempt at showing German efficiency and versatility, attempting to produce a car which was both automatic and shift. Hers had no neutral so she had to keep her foot on the brake constantly to keep from sliding into those in front or rolling into those in back. A young neighborhood thief that many saw but no one thought to stop went roaming through the building one night and, as part of his swag, stole Aída’s wallet. Small wonder our present CUME dean has installed a guard to monitor the building.

Scariest of all, however, was a rumor that seemed based in verifiable fact. Because we were no longer affiliated with the Temple campus, the fear was abroad that we would lose our accreditation. As a work/study scholarship student, I came in on Saturdays, continuing to beautify the upstairs bathrooms and meeting rooms, polishing the floors, making the tables shine, trying to present our school as a healthy, going program. Of us all, Harry Skilton, a married student a bit more mature than most of us young recent college-grads, worked the most feverishly of us all through many days and many nights, cataloguing books so that we could demonstrate we had a competitive library. Conwell had bought much of the old Biblical Seminary library (predecessor to today’s New York Theological Seminary). One day Harry showed me the mountains of books left to catalogue. The prospect was heart-stopping.

But most memories of Conwell are endearing. On the first day of school we began classes about 3:00 p.m., not realizing little passage of time had been set between classes. By 8:00 p.m., we were ravenous and dwelling more on the Wimpy Burgers across the street than on the subject matter, as fascinating as it was for us from secular colleges who were famished for the Word. For you who missed Popeye cartoons in your childhood, Wimpy was a hamburger-devouring sidekick, a complement to the spinach-gulping protagonist. As Dr. Hughes released us, we charged downstairs, sidled across the congested street, and piled into the fast-food emporium. We were misinformed. Glaciers move more swiftly. While we were still awaiting the order, one of the more faint-hearted among us, who had been monitoring the window, suddenly shrieked, “Look! Look!” Up on the second story, peering down at us like a prophet from the mountain, was the tall frame of Dr. Babbage, filling the window, gesturing with his ascending arms in a most commanding manner. The faint-hearted fled. Quaking, the rest of us waited for the order then crept shamefully into class. Dr. Babbage demanded to know what we thought we were up to and I explained that we hadn’t eaten since noon and, not being able to hear him over the loud growling of our stomachs, we couldn’t wait until class was over at 10:00 p.m.. Dr. Babbage softened up immediately, told us to go ahead and eat, he would lecture over the crinkling paper, but next time to bring a sandwich. That was a revelation of clear logic and that’s what I did from then on.

Nourishment both physical and spiritual mattered very much to Stuart Barton Babbage, a caring family man. His son, Tim, a young college-age student himself, basically ran the school – and with great efficiency. Discarding the mistaken notion that city pastors wanted jazzy “relevant” courses on quasi-socio/religious topics, Dr. Babbage was sculpting a school that provided a classic

education but contextualized in the urban reality of contemporary life. Convinced that city pastors wanted everything suburban pastors were learning (the biblical languages, traditional exegetical method, classic theology, church history, preaching, etc.), he scoured the city and its environs and he and the Conwell Board of Trustees created a remarkable educational opportunity, amassing an impressive team of classically trained professors, many of them currently teaching, but he also gravitated toward those who were at the same time serving as active urban pastors.

The year I invested in Conwell turned out to be epiphanic. From the start, all of us realized we had something special here – this classic education engaged in the center of a contemporary metropolis. I learned how to preach from Graham Smith, an Irish Presbyterian, theology from two completely different stylists, the celebrated Philip Edgcumbe Hughes, who lectured to a spot on the wall just above our heads and was astonished when someone asked a question (but came alive as a terror at the Ping-Pong table, when the sweet human side that, according to the scuttlebutt, had nurtured four beautiful daughters, disappeared into a ferocious competitor who wowed us all in the lounge in the back of the building as he disposed of every opponent with unnerving ease) and Fred Keefe, a Messianic Jewish pastor, before any of us were familiar with the term, who had memorized the entire Bible while himself a G.I. in Greenland (along with all baseball scores of all times), and grilled us with take-it-to-the-streets theologizing. The delightfully fatherly and pastoral Walter Mueller, who was an active pastor, who also wrote an excellent handbook on Greek grammar (which was known and valued by my faculty advisor at Princeton, the famed textual critic Bruce Metzger, as I later learned), was brought over from Reformed Episcopal, where he was also teaching, to instruct us in Koine Greek. The next semester, Professor Mueller was Aída's New Testament Professor. Church history was taught to us by no one less than Dr. Babbage himself. Every style was different. Graham Smith “rang the changes,” as he put it, as an inspiring professor preacher, Walt Mueller coached us with a kindness and patience that left us with a deep love for the language of the Bible he so insightfully preached himself. (Forty-six years later I still remember vividly a sermon he preached in chapel, “Heckling in the Middle Voice,” using the analogy of the Greek reflexive to represent a self-criticism that muted our effectiveness to represent our Lord). Dr. Babbage, himself, was a wonderful lecturer and story teller who made the early church as real as the North Philadelphia neighborhood around us. I never had the opportunity to study from Dr. Milton Fisher, who outlined every word of his lecture and handed copies out to every member of his class and then set extras out on a desk in the hallway for anyone else who wanted them. Long after we graduated from seminary, we had the opportunity to bring both Drs. Keefe and Fisher to speak for programs we were running. In the midst of all this traditional learning, Bob DeHaan of the Great Lakes Association was crafting an urban experience that began with T-group classes on racial interaction and was about to send us out on the streets with nothing for a day and a night but our wits to teach us what survival in the city was about. This mix I considered innovative and fore-thinking for its time.

As a result, the student body was already becoming rich and varied. Most of the school was comprised of seasoned African-American pastors who spoke insightfully from experience and set a tone of excellence as they hungrily seized on each new insight, converting everything into edification for their parishioners. Their enthusiasm was infectious and set a standard of dedicated study that pervaded us all. Salted into this mix were a handful of recent, often young male college graduates like myself, most of these Caucasian. Also peppered in were a handful of pastoral trainees from India, and, for spice, from the perspective of the single males, one female nurse, pursuing one course at a time, with a few enterprising student wives also taking advantage of Conwell's generous enrollment and scholarship policies for spouses at a course a semester.

Meanwhile, I had been traveling back and forth on the Jersey Central train line to work as a student assistant at Dunellen Pres, where my heart was, in more ways than one. Aída was then my fiancée (now, of course I am blessed that she is my wife, as well, of course, as a full professor

of New Testament here at Gordon-Conwell and co-founder of this present journal). Aída had graduated from Douglass a year before I did from Rutgers and she was working as the Hispanic Community Organizer in Plainfield, New Jersey (the city that stood between the two towns in which we had been reared). Her admission into Conwell provides an example of how God miraculously brought together our student body and, as well, nurtured our growing life together, as we could study and discuss the wonderful truths about God we would each be learning. Recently, in a sermon and then, again, for a presentation at Letourneau University in Longview, Texas, she brought together her thoughts and these are conflated in her following account:

I had become concerned not only for the economic needs, but also the spiritual needs of the people I served. Otherwise, I thought, I was merely helping poor people become middle class. That meant that, without a spiritual component, my work, although still worthwhile, was incomplete.

Meanwhile, my fiancé, Bill, had begun studying at GCTS in Philadelphia – right in the center of the city. He regularly told me about his classes. They appeared so interesting and helpful! I was also attracted to the idea of a seminary located in the heart of a city, where many of the issues I was now dealing with as a community organizer would continue to be important. That way, after training, I could return to social work. I mused, “Wouldn’t it be fun to learn about Christ and take those courses!” And he said, “Why don’t you come?”

I asked, “Do women go to seminary?” Not having been brought up fundamentalist, I honestly didn’t know, but I had my suspicions.

And he said: “of course they do,” because there was one woman taking one course part-time there.

But I was vastly underpaid, as a community organizer. I had begun as a secretary in a tiny office in Plainfield, New Jersey. We had four small rooms, a front waiting room, my room, and two other rooms for meetings. One side room had holes in the ceiling. As a matter of fact, one day I was able finally to invite a manager in a factory to my office so that we could talk about having a Spanish foreman in his factory where Spanish men could work without speaking English.

As we sat there, while he was chatting, suddenly a cockroach leaped from the hole in the ceiling onto his head. I didn’t know what to do. Should I warn him? But I was hesitant to say anything because I didn’t want him to change his mind on this great opportunity. (“Excuse me, sir, but you’ve got a cockroach on your head! Sorry about that. But, sure, we’re a bonafide office!”)

So, as you can imagine, I did not receive a great salary even when I was promoted from secretary to community organizer. I had little money. I also had no debts because I had slowly paid off my government loan, but hardly any savings. But Bill said he would help me out.

“No problem,” he said, “Let’s go ask for a scholarship!”

The next day was Saturday, so we just jumped in the car and went. We traveled about three hours from Plainfield, New Jersey to reach Philadelphia, Pa. Bill was bringing me to see the president, Dr. Stuart Barton Babbage, to ask him for a scholarship.

This was a spontaneous decision, so Bill made no appointment. When we reached the neighborhood, as it started to get dark, Bill settled on a street and began searching among the houses for the president’s home. He wasn’t exactly sure which home was his, because Bill had only been there for a reception one night and these were identical town houses which were all joined together. Bill narrowed his choice down to two. And then a marvelous thing happened: God’s presence brought me to seminary.

Without a doubt, I had never been to Philadelphia before, but, with a sudden strong sense of assurance, I told him it was the house on the right. We knocked and, sure enough, Dr. Babbage answered the door. He was wearing a coat.

He stared at us, shocked! “How did you know I was here? And how did you find me?” he marveled.

He and his wife had been gone over Christmas and New Year’s and had rushed back in order to repack their suitcases and check their mail and leave again in an hour, still in their coats.

He was so surprised by the unlikelihood of it all, he discerned immediately that God wanted me there and gave me a scholarship on the spot.

We may have made the effort to travel several hours, but only because God was with us were we successful! I did not know my call yet, but God led me every step of the way. With the help of this Christian community, I signed up for a two year Master of Theological Studies degree, planning to go back to social work, but now undergirded by a theological training. But, as I studied, my true calling became clearer. When GCTS closed its Philadelphia branch at the end of the school year and transferred to its northern suburb, Bill and I wanted to keep involved in our ministries in New Jersey, and, on our presbytery’s recommendation, transferred ourselves to a seminary about forty minutes from our church in a more urban area. This school had no Masters of Theological Studies, as had Conwell, so I switched to the Masters of Christian Education, then to the Master of Divinity. I continued to study after I graduated, earning a Master of Theology degree in Christian Higher Education. Having an M.Div. now I first taught English as a second language in Trenton State Maximum Security Prison (and organized a Bible study and brought in three churches to lead worship services) and, eventually, years later, earned my PhD in New Testament. The trajectory of seminary training began at Gordon-Conwell, Philadelphia, and has come again full circle at Gordon-Conwell, Massachusetts.

As Aída noted, our school had also added on a new expanded name. We learned that, during the summer months between my application and matriculation, Billy Graham, J. Howard Pew, and Harold Ockenga had brought together Conwell School of Theology with Gordon Divinity School and I was now enrolled in Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary’s Philadelphia branch. All of us became aware we had a sister campus up in Massachusetts. It was not a nunnery, as rumor had had it, but a former Roman Catholic monastery and high school on a spacious wooded hill in a small New England town, noted for its history of support for the U.S. Olympic equestrian team. It was (and is) lovely as a picture postcard.

We still called our school “Conwell.” But certain things were changing. Missing, for one thing, was Richard Lovelace, the exciting young speaker who had inspired me to come to Conwell. He and most of the faculty we were expecting to meet had been spirited away to this new conglomerate in the “frozen north,” as we all saw it. (The brash young professor, one R.C. Sproul, had also vanished.) Near the end of the spring semester, President Harold Ockenga came down and told us the bad news and the good news: Gordon-Conwell of Philadelphia was over at the end of the 1970 spring semester, but we were all invited up to its sister campus in Hamilton. The meeting was not a pleasant one. Many of us wanted the school to remain, but he made it clear it was a done deal, and, when asked what would become of the Widener Mansion, offered to sell it to the Black Clergy Association for one dollar. That silenced the debate.

And what of the aftermath? The Widener Mansion was eventually torn down completely, engulfed by the urban sprawl. Even the Wimpy Burgers passed into legend. No more Word of God illuminated on one corner of Broad and Girard (or Alka Seltzer required on the other).

Richard Lovelace, comfortably installed on the sister campus, was on his way to an illustrious multi-decades career as a church historian, including penning, among other books, his renowned *The Dynamics of Spiritual Life*. Up to that point my whole experience with the talented but absent Professor Lovelace had been confined to that one guest lecture at Dunellen Pres, though Aida knew of him vaguely as the youth minister at her former church. How could we imagine that, flashing-forward seventeen years, Aida and I and Richard and Betty Lee Lovelace (our church plant's first elder) would be founding Pilgrim Church together in Salem, Massachusetts and then moving it in a year to neighboring Beverly, a city of which I had never heard and to which I certainly never expected to volunteer pastor for thirty years in what would reveal itself to be only seasonally "the frozen north" of Massachusetts.

Today, the Gordon-Conwell Philadelphia experience is a legacy I treasure deeply. To me and, I am assured continually, many of those who shared this blessing with me, it was a taste of what seminary could and should be: a cutting edge enterprise that sacrifices nothing in sound historic education, but constantly addresses that training to the present reality that three quarters of our world is comprised of urban people. The city is at the heart of communal humanity, and, increasingly, it is rapidly becoming the context of the global majority of those whom Jesus commanded us to reach in Matthew 28:19-20.

Gordon-Conwell continues the Philadelphia legacy in its Boston Campus Center for Urban Ministerial Education, under its dedicated administration and teaching staff and deeply committed student body. All of us love CUME, as we affectionately call it. The Boston campus that Dr. Eldin Villafañe nurtured and able deans like Dr. Efrain Agosto and Dr. Alvin Padilla expanded right to the present day continues the vision of Conwell School of Theology. CUME, as Conwell, is an urban campus, and, in that, an indelible part of the vision of Russell Conwell, A.J. Gordon, J. Howard Pew and Billy Graham, who financed the merger. It is the living heir of Conwell School of Theology. One might say Conwell anticipated GCTS Boston CUME. Each campus has served many African-American leaders who brought extensive ministerial experience to their studies. Both campuses emphasized building a multi-cultural constituency, welcoming Anglo and other nationality students and featuring students of a more mature age than at many other schools. While Conwell, as an institution, did not live long enough to develop language tracks as CUME has done, both campuses still emphasized biblical languages, and interpreted urban issues, including issues of poverty, not as abstract exercises, but as a real target of theologizing geared toward applying reliable, biblically orthodox doctrine as a key element in building an integrated strategy for finding solutions. As Conwell before it, GCTS Boston's mission is as essential a part of the Gordon-Conwell mission as that of our other campuses. As it is envisioned by our present Boston Dean the astute Dr. Mark Hardin, Gordon-Conwell's Center for Urban Ministerial Education is working hard to become today's articulator of pastoral theology and practical city ministry for everyone engaged in ministry across the church. CUME's voice can be heard, for example, in *Reaching Toward the New Jerusalem: A Biblical and Theological Framework for the City*, a book Aida and I co-edited with our excellent assistant dean, Dr. Seong Park. Its chapters are authored by the CUME faculty and it is the second book published in CUME's own Urban Voice series, first established by John Runyon, then of CUME and now of MIT, with Wipf and Stock, the leading publisher of scholarly (as well as popular) Christian books. Also related to CUME and dealing with a wide variety of issues of interest to urban ministers is the present *Africanus Journal* itself. The heritage of Conwell to bring historic, evangelical orthodoxy to the heart of the city continues at Gordon-Conwell Boston, as our campus works to enrich the churches of today, even as it seeks to help build the churches of tomorrow.

In its day, Gordon-Conwell in Philadelphia was the seminary of the future, a blessing that pointed ahead by constructing a classic education that was adapted to the particular present and future needs of an increasingly urban global world. Gordon-Conwell Boston is the follow-through

of that trajectory, a current blessing to everyone who is called to be equipped to minister for the years to come until our Lord Jesus returns.

William David Spencer is currently Distinguished Adjunct Professor of Theology and the Arts at Gordon-Conwell Boston's Center for Urban Ministerial Education in Roxbury, MA. After a blessed year studying at the former Philadelphia center of Gordon-Conwell, he earned a Master of Divinity, with a New Testament concentration, in the Greek and Hebrew track, and a Master of Theology degree in Christian Higher Education from Princeton Theological Seminary and eventually a Doctor of Theology degree in Theology and Ancient Literature from Boston University School of Theology. He is the author of several hundred articles, stories, poems, chapters in books, reviews, editorials, and has won twenty-one writing and editing awards. He is also co-author or editor of fourteen books, including recent titles in city ministry, *Reaching for the New Jerusalem: A Theological and Biblical Framework for the City* with Gordon-Conwell-Boston professors, *Name in the Papers* (an urban adventure novel), which was awarded The Golden Halo Award for Outstanding Contribution to Literature by the Southern California Motion Picture Council, and *Redeeming the Screens*, which features accounts of those involved in the current Hollywood Revival.

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The City Gives Birth to a Seminary¹

STEVE DAMAN

What if you want to start a seminary? Where do you begin? What if, instead of showing up with long-term goals and administrative strategies for organizational development, you choose to allow the color and complexity and diversity of a changing city to shape the seminary? And what if you start by listening rather than directing? And you not only welcome collaboration, you insist on it. What if you launch your first class just three months after you get the nod to start? What would that look like? It would look like CUME, the Center for Urban Ministerial Education, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary's Boston campus.

In the fall of 1973, Eldin Villafaña and his wife, Margie, settled into student housing at Boston University (BU) and Eldin started work on a Ph.D. in social ethics. Already a graduate of Central Bible College and Wheaton Graduate School of Theology, Eldin had been serving as director of Christian education for the largest Hispanic Assemblies of God church in the country at the time, Iglesia Cristiana Juan 3:16 in the Bronx. His thought was to come to BU, get the degree, and get back to New York. But God had another plan.

Not long after coming to Boston, Eldin made his way to a little bookstore on Shawmut Avenue, a store bursting with books and music in both Spanish and English, furnished with vintage display counters and decorated with brightly painted maracas, guiros, tambourines and a variety of flags. The little store seemed dark at first coming off the street, yet the room was always full of cheerful conversation, lively music, and warm Christian fellowship. Eldin struck up a friendship with the manager, Web Brower, who had launched the store in 1970 as a ministry of the Emmanuel Gospel Center (EGC). The store served as a resource center for the growing Hispanic church community as thousands of Latinos were moving into Boston from across Latin America as well as from New York and Puerto Rico.

One day, Web invited Eldin to join the planning team for an inner-city Christian education conference. It was a good fit as Eldin was a seasoned Christian education director and also was well respected in his denomination, the Assemblies of God. Eldin remembers, "They asked me to mobilize some Latinos. And Web and the folks were thinking, you know, if we get 20 or 30 people that would be great. Well, because I had been known in my denomination and I knew the pastors, I was able to bring close to 300 Latinos." The conference spilled over into two churches. That event built new relational bridges for Eldin, especially with some of the city's African American leaders such as Michael Haynes, Bruce Wall, and VaCountess (V.C.) Johnson, all of Twelfth Baptist Church at that time. God gave him much grace, he says, and the other leaders valued his contribution to this conference.

Somewhere along the way, Eldin was asked to be a guest lecturer for a few seminary classes held at the Emmanuel Gospel Center. In 1973, the same year that the Villafañes came to Boston, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary (GCTS) launched a program called the Urban Middler Year (UMY). Seminarians could choose to spend their second full year of study in Boston, attending classes at the Gospel Center taught by Doug Hall, director of EGC, and Professor Steve Mott of Gordon-Conwell, with additional help from Professor Dean Borgman, and other urban leaders. Students would serve with an inner-city church and be mentored in urban ministry. Then they

¹ The article was developed from a conversation with Rev. Eldin Villafaña, Ph.D., Founding Director, Center for Urban Ministerial Education (CUME), Boston Campus of Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary (1976-1990) and Professor of Christian Social Ethics, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary. This article was originally published online by the Emmanuel Gospel Center Nov. 2013 at <http://egc.org/qr-cume-villafane>. Excerpts from this article were published in *Inside EGC*, Nov-Dec 2013, a newsletter of Emmanuel Gospel Center <http://egc.org/ie-november-2013-newsletter>.

would return to Gordon-Conwell Seminary in Hamilton for their third and final year. When Eldin spoke at the Gospel Center those few times, he did not realize he would soon be working in partnership with Steve Mott.

The Birth of the Center for Urban Ministerial Education (CUME)

In 1969, one of the mandates of the newly formed Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, arising from the merger of the Conwell School of Theology in Philadelphia and the Gordon Divinity School in Wenham, Massachusetts, was to engage the city in some fashion. Both schools had historical commitments to urban ministry that it was unwilling to abandon; however, the specific shape and form for the new institution remained rather unclear. Initially, Dr. Stephen Mott was hired to direct a program to be housed in Philadelphia, continuing the Conwell tradition of training African American clergy. In effect, Dr. Mott became a full-time professor of church and society, located at the Hamilton campus of Gordon-Conwell in South Hamilton, Massachusetts. Other GCTS constituencies, particularly urban clergy, also shared this interest that the seminary's original urban mandate become a full reality. Dr. Michael Haynes, senior Pastor of the historic Twelfth Baptist Church in Roxbury, Massachusetts, and a longtime trustee of GCTS, took a leading and crucial role at this juncture. He became a strong advocate for the Seminary's need to be involved in the inner city, and powerfully articulated the plight of the church in the inner city to the Seminary's Trustees and senior administration.

Before Gordon-Conwell launched the Urban Middler Year program, there had been talk of doing more for the city. A few years earlier, in 1969, Doug Hall sent a letter to the seminary's leadership asking them to consider addressing three critical needs that Doug and his team saw emerging in Boston: the need for an urban training component for traditional seminary students, which initially was addressed in 1973 with the start of UMY; the need for research on demographics and trends in the city to keep ministerial training relevant and to inform the pastors; and the need for contextualized ministerial training for pastors already working in Boston.

The UMY program was importing eager seminarians into the city. Gordon-Conwell never addressed the research concern, but, in 1976, God sent a researcher to EGC. Rudy Mitchell, still EGC's senior researcher, has been studying the city and its churches for four decades. But what was to be done about the remaining challenge, the need to better equip pastors already serving?

Many pastors in Boston's newest churches had little or no formal education, many did not speak English, but, with anointing from God, they were leading dozens of Boston's most effective churches. Doug Hall remembers conversations with busy, bi-vocational pastors who wanted more training, but wondered how to fit that into their busy lives, as they were already feeling burned out. He also heard his friend Michael Haynes voice deep concerns about the lack of access to evangelical ministry training and higher education for urban residents—a gap that had widened in the twenty years since Gordon Divinity School had moved out of the city of Boston in the mid-1950s.

By 1976, the leadership at Gordon-Conwell was ready to do more. They began looking for the right person to build bridges among urban church leaders across many ethnic groups, someone who could administrate new programs—possibly an urban seminary, and teach and mentor students. Professor Steve Mott asked Eldin if he was interested, and then Doug Hall and his wife Judy drove Eldin the thirty miles up Route 1 to introduce him to the seminary leaders. When the offer was extended, Eldin readily agreed to join Gordon-Conwell as assistant professor of church and society, working alongside Steve. Eldin was made coordinator for the Urban Middler Year program and he was asked to do one more thing: to begin to think about ways the seminary could establish a new and separate program for training and equipping the urban pastors already serving congregations.

"There was great interest in doing this, and I just took the ball and ran," Eldin says. V.C. Johnson, a Gordon-Conwell graduate and ordained minister who was working at Twelfth Baptist,

was also already involved in exploring this idea. V.C. and Professor Dean Borgman had been conducting some simple surveys to see whether a program for indigenous pastors and leaders would fly. Eldin and V.C. soon began working together. "I had been named the director of the project, and I started calling V.C. the assistant director right away rather than a secretary or administrative assistant as someone suggested, because she was doing much more. I can remember the meetings I had with V.C. coming up with a name. We were thinking of a few names and then she said, 'Let's call it: Center for Urban Ministerial Education.' And we called it that from day one." Then came a flurry of gatherings with pastors and leaders from the Hispanic, African American, and Anglo communities. "A lot of folks were very supportive," Eldin says.

Just three months after receiving the challenge from Gordon-Conwell to think about what could be done for indigenous pastors, the Center for Urban Ministerial Education opened its doors in September 1976 at the Second African Meeting House on 11 Moreland Street in Roxbury. "We started with 30 students," Eldin remembers. "About 16 were Latinos and 12 were African Americans, and maybe one or two were White."

Contextualized Urban Theological Education

After a year or two, V.C. left because of her work commitments at Twelfth Baptist. "I wanted the seminary to look like the city," Eldin reflects, "so I began to pray for an individual who has credentials, and an African American, and God sent Sam Hogan to join the team." Sam was finishing his second master's degree at Harvard, a Master of Theological Studies. Today Bishop Hogan serves as a pastor and a leader in Boston with the Church of God in Christ denomination. Other workers were added, such as Naomi Wilshire, Bruce Jackson, Ephrain Agosto and Ira Frazier. Doug Hall continued developing his courses in urban ministry he had pioneered with the UMY program, and they eventually became core courses for the Masters of Divinity in Urban Ministry degree, and are still offered today.

"I really was given carte blanche," Eldin says. "I was given freedom. I had been a Sunday School man, and I knew how to organize, mobilize, and that was key because from day one I fought for some issues." While the school did not immediately offer advanced degrees, "one of the things I wanted was that pastors and leaders would be able to take courses and that when the time came that we would get the degree component, all the course work they had done would be counted toward that degree," Eldin says. Eldin fought for them, and four years later, when CUME awarded its first masters degrees, students from his first class were among the recipients.

The idea of "contextualized urban theological education" soon became the underlying philosophy of CUME. To "contextualize" means you have to keep listening to the needs of the city, Eldin says. "You have to be faithful to the reality that is there, and then you have to discern what the Spirit is doing, even in the immigration patterns. Right from day one we started classes in English and Spanish. Two years later, we saw the growth among the Haitians coming to Boston. I asked Marilyn Mason, who worked with EGC, if she would help me convene Haitian leaders. And what we did then became a principle. Here is what you do. You get one or two key leaders, have them convene others for a meeting, and when they get here I say, 'Look, we are here to prepare leadership. But you need to push us. What do you want to do? How far do you want to go? Do you want a certificate or a degree program? We can do it, but you have to push us so I can push further up.' And of course with critical mass and the key leadership we had among the Haitians, one of the first ones who started to work with us was Soliny Védrine." Pastor Védrine was busy planting a church in Boston. He also worked as a bookkeeper to support his growing family. With a law degree and a recent theological degree from Dallas Theological Seminary, Pastor Sol began to teach Haitian pastors in Creole. Pastor Sol continues to serve the Haitian Christian community today through the Emmanuel Gospel Center.

"Later we did the same thing with the Brazilians. Ruy Costa was doing Ph.D. work at BU with

me. Through him we convened the Brazilians and they began to come,” Eldin says. CUME began offering classes in Portuguese. Today, Dr. Costa works as executive director of the Episcopal City Mission in Boston.

For a while, CUME even offered courses in American Sign Language taught by Rev. Lorraine Anderson, when she served as senior pastor of the International Community Church in Allston.

Boston’s Quiet Revival² is understood as an unprecedented and sustained period of Christian growth in the city of Boston beginning in 1965 and persisting over five decades. As CUME got momentum, there was, at the same time, robust church planting in Boston, particularly among these immigrant populations. In 1965, when the revival began, there were 318 churches in the city. Fifty years later, despite the fact that many church plants are short-lived and not a few mainline churches have closed; there are now more than 575 Christian churches within city limits, according to EGC’s research.

“My perspective is that we have to be discerning and faithful to what the Lord is doing. I believe the Lord is sovereign in the world, so movements of people to different places don’t just happen because they happen,” Eldin says. “We have to ask, ‘What is the Lord doing by bringing all these people? What does it mean?’ We want to serve the city. We started with these four languages because they represented a strong Brazilian community, a strong Haitian community, a strong Latino community, and of course the bottom line, we want to teach in the language of those who are marginalized from society at that time, these people who are very gifted. So language, immigration, all this was tied to the revival.”

The move of God that started among the Hispanic churches and then ignited among other people groups, by and large identified with Pentecostalism. “The Quiet Revival is a move of God through Pentecostal churches, be they classical Pentecostal or independent,” Eldin says. “Many of these churches were Spirit-open churches, and even when they were Baptist or otherwise, they were very charismatic. When I started CUME, the greatest majority of students were Pentecostal. The reason I teach theology or ethics is because I am concerned that all churches, but Pentecostal churches particularly, need solid theological training.” As an insider in the Hispanic Pentecostal movement, Dr. Villafaña has written extensively about this in *The Liberating Spirit: Toward an Hispanic American Pentecostal Social Ethic*.³

One of the reasons the Quiet Revival has endured and prospered for almost fifty years and the churches continue to be strengthened is because CUME was there from the beginning. EGC Director Jeff Bass says, “I think CUME is the most important Christian organization in the city, because you are backfilling theology into this movement that could have gotten weird, and it has not. There are a lot of strong churches today because there are so many hundreds of CUME graduates out there that have learned theology, and have learned Living System Ministry, the principles we teach here at the Emmanuel Gospel Center as well, such as the importance of unity among the churches, or that God is at work in the city and you have to join in with what he is already doing. We are impacting people to collaborate, to understand the living systems, to ask ‘system questions,’ not to be lone rangers, and to be on the lookout for unintended negative returns.”

“The churches, CUME, and EGC,” Eldin says, “were part of the institutional ‘feeders’ God used to help nurture the Quiet Revival. The trio of EGC, CUME, and the emerging churches nurtured an amazing renewal in Boston over the past four decades.” He calls the relationship “triple nurture,” as there was an organic ebb and flow among the three living systems, each nurturing and being nurtured, shaping and being shaped.

Starting in the late 1960s, EGC began pouring resources into the immigrant church

2 For more on the Quiet Revival see <http://egc.org/err94>.

3 *The Liberating Spirit: Toward an Hispanic American Pentecostal Social Ethic* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993).

communities. EGC created pastoral networks which are still in place today; provided state of the art street evangelism equipment used by urban churches to reach their own neighborhoods; ran a multi-language Christian bookstore that was both a supply center and a relational networking hub for urban pastors; and offered a Christian legal clinic which worked to help pastors and church members with immigration issues, churches obtain tax exempt status, and church leaders negotiate red tape in renting or buying properties. Supporting CUME in training indigenous pastors was another important contribution of EGC to fan the flames of the Quiet Revival.

Today, through applied research and issue-focused programs, EGC equips urban Christian leaders to understand complex social systems, to build fruitful relationships and take responsible action within their communities, all to see the Kingdom of God grow in Greater Boston. EGC is helping leaders engage issues related to gender-based violence, urban youth, public health, homelessness, urban education, and refugee assimilation, to name a few. By learning to align to what God is doing in Boston, Christian leaders are creating innovative and effective approaches to what some see as intractable problems.

CUME, now Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary-Boston, is a seminary shaped by the Quiet Revival. But as both the revival and the seminary are interconnected living systems, CUME has also shaped the revival, giving it depth and breadth. “One of the problems with revivals anywhere,” Eldin points out, “is oftentimes you have good strong evangelism that begins to grow a church, but the growth does not come with trained leadership who are educated biblically and theologically. You can have all kinds of problems. Besides heresy, you can have recidivism, people going back to their old ways. The beautiful thing about the Quiet Revival is that, just as it begins to flourish, CUME is coming aboard.”

To that end, CUME helps students achieve Paul’s charge in 2 Timothy 2:15, “Make every effort to present yourself before God as a proven worker who does not need to be ashamed, teaching the message of truth accurately” (NET).

A further contribution of GCTS-Boston beyond theological education is that it fosters cross-denominational and cross-ethnic collaboration by providing a safe, neutral place for emerging leaders to build close relationships. The students know each other by name, grow to love each other, and find it easier to work together on common goals. They know they are not alone. They learn that they are part of a growing network of men and women who are passionate about the Church in Boston. This collaboration strengthens and empowers each individual as each one stays connected with others.

Eldin says that CUME intentionally provides space for leadership to get together. The goal is that the emerging leadership will build relationships and that out of those relationships more Kingdom fruit will grow. Most of CUME’s classes are held in the evenings as many students work during the day, either as pastors or in some other employment or both. In the middle of the evening there is a welcome coffee break when students gather informally around snacks. Once, Eldin says, someone in the business office challenged that idea, thinking it would be better stewardship of both time and money to teach right through. “I said, ‘Don’t you touch that! When we get to heaven, we might find that might be the most important thing we did!’”

Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary-Boston (CUME) today serves 300 students per semester, representing nearly forty denominations and twenty countries. It has had strong and capable leadership following and expanding on Eldin’s vision of Contextualized Urban Theological Education; leaders such as Dr. Efrain Agosto, Dr. Alvin Padilla and Dr. Mark G. Harden. The school’s qualified faculty members are already working in the same ministry context as the students. Courses are offered evenings and weekends to accommodate working students. In addition to English, various courses are offered as needed in Spanish, French,

Haitian-Creole and Portuguese. GCTS-Boston offers master's programs in several disciplines and Th.M.- Doctor of Ministry in Practical Theology. Nearly forty percent of the students pursue the Master of Divinity in Urban Church Ministry. GCTS-Boston students gain the foundation and skills they need to be effective coworkers with God as he lavishly pours out his redeeming love across the city of Boston.

Steve Daman has been using his skills in writing and data management at Boston's Emmanuel Gospel Center since 1988. Currently he serves as Senior Production Advisor, Applied Research and Consulting. In 2010, he coauthored *The Cat and the Toaster: Living System Ministry in a Technological Age* with Doug and Judy Hall. He holds a B.A. from Gordon College (1973) and a Master's degree in communications from Regent University (1986). Steve and his wife, Debby, have three adult children and a growing number of adorable grandchildren.



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Gordon-Conwell—Charlotte and Theological Education: Its History in Light of Emerging Trends

ROBERT J. MAYER

During the last forty years, theological education has been impacted by dramatic social and cultural change. At the core of that change is what Alvin Toffler described in the early 1970s as *Future Shock*.¹ Toffler used that term to describe two emerging realities in Western culture. First, the amount of knowledge and information available to humanity had begun to increase dramatically, a trend that escalated in the 1980s with the widespread availability of personal computers. Second, the speed of technological change had accelerated to the point that no individual or social group could totally control the emergence of new technology into society at large. Changes that would have taken decades before 1950 now occur in the space of a few weeks or months. New technologies make obsolete what was considered state-of-the-art only two years ago. Theological educators and church pastors experience the trauma and frustration of trying to keep up not only with the thousands of new books and articles that appear each year, but with public demand for the latest in electronic information technology.

That theological seminaries would be impacted by the cultural and technological shifts of the past half-century century will come as a surprise to some. After all, theological seminaries and divinity schools focus their study on ancient texts and on the training of individuals for service in one of the oldest institutions in Western society. However, a survey of the literature demonstrates that these cultural and technological trends have significantly impacted the mission of theological education and the work of theological seminaries and divinity schools in Canada and the United States. Evangelical theological seminaries have sought to address these trends in multiple ways, but especially through use of methods and pedagogies, such as Theological Education by Extension (TEE), pioneered in the developing world. Our purpose is to describe the history of one strategic attempt to create contextualized theological education in light of these developments—the establishment of the Charlotte, North Carolina campus of Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary (GCTS) in 1992 and its progress over the past twenty-three years.. This article will look at the history of Gordon-Conwell Charlotte through the lens of four key trends in theological education which have emerged in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries--globalization, the growth of various forms of extension theological education (including hybrid and distance learning), the impact of technology, and renewed thinking about teaching and learning.²

Globalization

In the mid-1980s, several speakers at the Association of Theological Schools (ATS) annual conference argued that the last decade of the twentieth century and the early decades of the twenty-first would be characterized by “globalization,” a term that first appeared in the business and management literature of the 1960s, referring to the expansion of marketing and manufacturing

1 Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock* (New York: Random House, 1970) offers a detailed description of how the accelerated nature of technological change has impacted human life and culture. Almost 30 years later, David Bollier echoed Toffler in his 1998 address to the American Theological Library Association; “The new technologies are ushering in such sweeping changes at such a rapid pace that our most urgent challenge may be simply to understand them....There is no such thing as business-as-usual anymore. The velocity of change is simply too great.” See David Bollier, “Postcards from the Digital Frontier: How New Technologies are Transforming the Fitness Landscape for Organizations– and Why Creative Leadership is Needed,” *Summary of Proceedings: Fifty-second Annual Convention of the American Theological Library Association*, ed. Margaret Tacke (Evanston, IL: American Theological Library Association, 1998), 177-78.

2 This list is not meant to be exhaustive, only descriptive of what this author sees to be major trends discussed in the literature that impact both theological education and theological librarianship.

across national borders.³ In terms of theological education, globalization is manifested in two ways: the pluralization of the environment into which graduates of seminaries and divinity schools enter upon graduation, and the movement of the Christian church itself from a predominantly Caucasian, Eurocentric body to a largely non-Caucasian, multi-cultural worldwide community.⁴ More precisely, globalization refers to “the engagement of people with one another who live within different and specific cultural constructs.”⁵ It is distinct from pluralism in that, while that term refers to the actual mosaic of cultures within a given geographical area, globalization refers to interactions between those cultures.

What does globalization imply for theological education? Fumitaka Matsouka argues that the engagement and interaction between people from diverse communities (what he terms the “complexity of plurality”) has the “potential of reaching such a stage that some new condition can break out.” New questions are asked. New understandings are reached: “Globalization is a reconfiguring of theological institutions in such a way that this search for deepening of new questions and unexpected exchange of views becomes a reality.”⁶ This reconfiguration will manifest itself in the need for seminary and divinity schools to develop international linkages and networks.⁷

The vision for the GCTS-Charlotte campus emerged in a globalized environment, specifically in 1989 at the Lausanne II convocation in Manila in a conversation between then GCTS President Robert E. Cooley, Billy Graham’s associate evangelist Leighton Ford, and Forest Hill Church—Charlotte pastor David Chadwick. Gordon-Conwell had a large number of alumni serving in the southeastern United States and the three individuals dreamed of a southeastern campus that could train students for vocational ministry in that region and connect with the growing number of World Missions agencies that had moved to Charlotte. Indeed, Gordon-Conwell would eventually locate its Charlotte campus next to the USA headquarters of SIM International, a missions organization that serves throughout the developing world. But first, the Charlotte campus would use what was termed the “pilgrim model” to ground the campus directly in the life of Charlotte area congregations.

For its first four years, the Charlotte campus held its classes and kept its library at Forest Hill Church. The time there allowed the campus to develop its degree programs, establish its mentored ministry programs, and initially build its student body. Forest Hill was rapidly becoming one of the largest congregations in Charlotte and had developed a former television studio grounds into a ministry center for worship and a variety of congregational programming and outreach, and there was ample space for the new Charlotte campus. In 1992, the first Charlotte class was Greek I taught by Dr. Rollin Grams, our first residential Charlotte faculty member. During this time the Charlotte campus welcomed its first Dean, Dr. Wayne Goodwin from Asbury Theological Seminary, and Dr. Goodwin helped the Charlotte campus develop its integrative approach to the MDiv and MA curricula—an approach that focused on foundations, skills development, and capstone integrative work in the areas represented by the three faculty divisions of the Seminary—biblical studies, Christian thought, and practical theology.

3 Robert J. Schreiter, “Globalization and Theological Libraries,” in *Summary of Proceedings: Forty-ninth Annual Conference of the American Theological Library Association*, ed. Betty A. O’Brien (Evanston, Ill.: American Theological Library Association, 1991), 147.

4 Ibid., 149-50. According to Schreiter, “In 1900, eighty percent of all Christians were Caucasian, and lived in the northern hemisphere.... In 2020, demographer David Barrett estimates that this datum will have been reversed: eighty percent of all Christians will be non-Caucasians and live in the southern hemisphere.”

5 William E. Lesher, “Globalization and Its Significance for Theological Librarians,” in *Summary of Proceedings: Forty-ninth Annual Conference of the American Theological Library Association*, 137.

6 Fumitaka Matsouka, “Pluralism at Home: Globalization within North America,” *Theological Education* 36 (1990): 42-3. Matsouka argues that globalization has the potential to strengthen theological and cultural particularities. “Globalization is a reposturing of each one of us who make up theological institutions in such a way that each can claim our own particularity, i.e., one component of the mosaic that is humankind. The promise of reciprocal creativity will emerge only out of our realization of the genuine dependence of each upon all” (43).

7 Lesher, “Globalization and Its Significance,” 144.

After four years, the Charlotte campus moved from Forest Hill Church, but continued to embrace the “pilgrim” approach that sought to ground theological education in congregational settings. Administrative offices and library facilities were housed off of Southern Pine Blvd. in southwest Charlotte, and classes and integrative seminars continued to be held at congregations throughout Charlotte. Our first graduating class received degrees in 1996. At the same time the Campus was moving into its Southern Pine location, property was purchased four miles away on Choate Circle next to the USA offices of SIM International. With that, the dream of a permanent campus location began to emerge.

New structural approaches to theological education

GCTS-Charlotte would benefit from one important consequence of globalization, what Christian Smith and David Sikkink label as the new “structural pluralism” in American education.⁸ “This structural pluralist approach attempts to ally social conflict by allowing communities and their people legitimately to live out in public life their distinctive beliefs and practices.” While the authors use the term to describe the growing number approaches to elementary and secondary education, “structural pluralism” also has application to higher education especially in terms of new models of extension, hybrid, and distance education. These new educational models have significantly impacted theological education during the past thirty years. In the outline of its 1996 proposed revision of accrediting standards, ATS recognized four new types of extension education: complete degree programs offered on fully developed extension campuses, ongoing course offerings (but not complete degree programs) at an extension site, occasional course offerings in a community with a significant number of students, and external independent study through distance and hybrid education.⁹ In addition, the emergence of the Internet now makes possible complete courses offered in electronic formats, as well as the ability for professors to supplement traditional on-campus courses with online components.¹⁰

According to Linda Cannell, in terms of higher education in general and theological education in particular, these models were breaking down the “tyranny of time, place, and curriculum,” opening educational opportunity to people of all ages and backgrounds and transforming learning “from a place to a process.”¹¹ Cannell articulates several common components of distance and hybrid education: “the majority of communication is noncontiguous, there is two-way communication between teachers and students, education is usually technologically mediated, patterns of institutional control over the learner are changed, reflection is at the heart of the process, self-assessment of personal or professional development is expected, and learners... have a stake in the planning of their programs.” Most important, according to Cannell, effective hybrid and distance education programs “require interactivity, foster the development of higher order thinking skills, [are] grounded in one or more learning communities, and encourage the development of skills for lifelong learning.”¹²

From its beginning, Gordon-Conwell embraced a structurally varied approach to theological education with the emergence of its urban campus in Boston in 1976, followed in 1992 by the Charlotte campus with its emphasis on adult theological education. Both campuses sought to integrate theological education into the everyday lives of their students by offering classes and degree programs on evenings, weekends, and through one-week intensive courses. In Charlotte,

8 Christian Smith and David Sikkink. “Is Private School Privatizing?” *First Things* 92: 16-20.

9 “Outline of ATS Redeveloped Accrediting Standards,” *Theological Education* 32 (Spring 1996): 18-57.

10 For an example, see Steven Klipowicz and Timothy Laniak, “Hebrew Exegesis Online: Using Information Technology to Enhance Biblical Language Study,” *Teaching Theology and Religion* 2 (November 1999): 109-15. This experiment in using an online component to foster the teaching of biblical language and exegesis was done at the GCTS-Charlotte campus.

11 Ibid., 6.

12 Linda Cannell, “A Review of Literature on Distance Education,” *Theological Education* 36 (1999): 3.

the focus was also church-based as classes were held for the first ten years at congregational sites, such as Forest Hill, Calvary, and Mecklenburg Community churches, and other sites throughout the metropolitan area. Students came from two primary sources—those wishing to prepare for vocational Christian service while continuing their current employment and church involvement, and those who were already serving in some form of Christian ministry who wished to prepare for God's call better by enhancing their theological education. Even after GCTS-Charlotte built its permanent campus location in 2003, interaction with and support of area congregations was vital to the work of the campus.

At the Charlotte campus, the academic emphasis focuses on the integration of theory with the practice of ministry, something this article will highlight later. One important example of this integration is the twice-annual integrative seminars that allow students and faculty to apply classroom learning to a current topic or concern within congregational life. These seminars continue today and now are sequenced to stress the six principles of the Gordon-Conwell mission statement so that students are exposed to the evangelical ethos of the school. They also provide opportunity for students and faculty who study at a commuter-oriented campus to gather as an entire community.

The impact of technology

The relationship between teaching, learning, and electronic technology is a symbiotic one, and, with the advent of course management systems, more formal structures for course development have emerged. Effective use of technology is essential if hybrid programs are to be successful, and new applications of technology in academic and library settings have made higher education (including theological education) more accessible for students unable to relocate. Twenty years ago, most discussions of electronic technology in theological institutions focused on internal operations not primarily linked to the academic mission of the school. Technology was thought of primarily in terms of how new applications could help streamline library technical services or enhance business and financial operations.

Since 1980, electronic technology has indeed streamlined business operations and library technical services. But its impact has become far more dramatic. New electronic technologies have made possible an information explosion that has not only benefitted students and faculty, but affected how we understand the nature of information, how we gather information, and how we learn. "What is information?" asks Roger Loyd. "There is data (the sentences, numbers, constructs, graphic representations, and so on). There is its container: ink on paper, photographic film, computer storage of one kind or the other. Then there is the moment when someone wants to know, to inquire, to think, to learn. And the container delivers the data to that person and it becomes information." Loyd goes on to suggest that information involves both data and container. Quoting John Perry Barlow, he writes, "Information is an action which occupies time rather than a state of being which occupies space, as is the case with hard goods. It is the pitch, not the baseball."¹³

New electronic technologies have also affected how we process and deliver information. According to David Bollier, "The driving force of change is not just the personal computer, or the Internet, or high-speed telecommunications, but the promiscuous co-mingling of all of these and affiliated technologies." In Bollier's view, electronic networking is the most influential outcome of this co-mingling because of how it interconnects "everyone on a global scale in new time permutations and allow[s] the exchange of vast quantities of complex data, imagery, and words."¹⁴

13 Roger Loyd, "Beyond Competence: or, Theological Libraries on the Electronic Frontier," in *Summary of Proceedings: Forty-eighth Annual Conference of the American Theological Library Association*, ed. Karen Lee Anderson and Melody Chartier (Evanston, Ill.: American Theological Library Association, 1994), 119.

14 David Bollier, "Postcards from the Digital Frontier: How New Technologies Are Transforming the Fitness Landscape for Organizations— and Why Creative Leadership Is Needed," in *Summary of Proceedings: Fifty-second Annual Convention of the American Theological Library Association*, ed. Margaret Tacke. (Evanston, Ill.: American Theological

Twenty-five years ago, if a theological library did not possess a copy of the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* or one of *Calvin's New Testament Commentaries*, students or faculty members would in many cases have to wait at least several days while the library secured a copy. Today, if the library copy is unavailable for some reason, the librarian can direct them online to the Christian Classics Ethereal Library (www.ccel.org) where they can access full-text versions of those works from their own personal computers. Electronic networks have made possible access to an ever-widening range of materials appropriate for biblical and theological studies.

Technology has altered not only how we process information, but how our culture understands the very nature of information. That reality has led to a host of exaggerated claims from its advocates. From time to time, we hear that schools and libraries should "abandon collection of print as a communications medium and...look to supplant our existing collections with access to electronic information."¹⁵ Exaggerated claims like these have created a great deal of caution on the part of many theological educators, librarians, and institutions. "Many theological educators," in the words of James Waits, "have been slow to embrace the revolution in technology because of the inevitable hype that has accompanied this development." According to Waits, this hype has led to "the understandable tendency...to insist that— for reasons of community, quality, peer learning, and tradition— the new electronic media are inappropriate for ministry formation."¹⁶ In addition, many who teach at seminaries and divinity schools often critique the impact of electronic technology as part of their own theological inquiry. David Wells offers one such example. "Technology," according to Wells, "reduces all of life to the productive order, to measurable benefits, to the calculus of cost and profit, and what is most efficient rapidly becomes what is ethically permissible or right."¹⁷ In a technologically dominated society, local cultures are damaged and human beings individually and corporately fall into the illusion that "the world can be managed if we can follow the right rational steps." Wells' work is representative of the theological and cultural critiques of electronic technology articulated in seminaries and divinity schools of all different theological persuasions.

Such theological reflection on the impact of technology in higher education and in congregational life makes it essential for seminaries like Gordon-Conwell and campuses like Gordon-Conwell Charlotte to reflect biblically and theologically on how emerging electronic technologies can be integrated into the training of clergy and those who will serve in Christian vocations. Not all uses of technology can be justified, and, since its beginning in 1992, Gordon-Conwell Charlotte has sought to sort through issues relating to the appropriate use of electronic technology in theological education as well as educate its students regarding its usage and impact in congregational contexts.

Dr. Goodwin stepped down from the role of Dean to return to teaching in 1998. He was succeeded by David Wells in 1998 and by Dr. Sid Bradley in 2000. Dr. Wells commuted to Charlotte from his home in Massachusetts and helped to assure a strong linkage between the Charlotte campus and the entire Seminary. After he stepped down from his work as Dean to return to full-

Library Association, 1998), 178. Bollier argues, "Electronic networking has vastly expanded the scope of commercial marketplaces, the volume and diversity of information that can be accessed and exchanged, and the types of social relationships one can have. This is creating entirely new tensions between stability and innovation and between the local and global" (179).

15 John Budd, *The Academic Library* (Littleton, Colorado: Libraries Unlimited, 1998), 246. Budd makes it clear that he does not share this vision: "Assertions that electronic information will replace print completely are misplaced for many reasons." Moreover, because in theological studies, like in other disciplines that make up the humanities, "the subject matter studied is not dependent on new developments or discoveries in the same way that, say, the sciences are," printed books will likely continue to play a central role in the nature of inquiry.

16 James L. Waits, "Looking Forward, Looking Backward: A View of Theological Education at the Beginning of a New Millennium," *Theological Education* 36 (2000): 53-54.

17 David Wells, *Losing Our Virtue: Why the Church Must Recover its Moral Vision* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998), 24. Wells continues: "In a technologically dominated world, what is real is what is found along the flat plane of human management, where effects can be strictly controlled by our own causes."

time teaching, Dr. Bradley served as Dean for the next eight years. During Dr. Bradley's tenure, a host of campus initiatives were accomplished, the most important being completion of the permanent campus building in 2003. Dr. Bradley had already accomplished one important campus objective in his previous four years as director and primary professor of the Charlotte counseling program, which began in 1996. That program was the first Christian counseling program in North Carolina to be licensed to train graduates for the Licensed Professional Counselor (LPC) and Marriage and Family (MFT) certifications, and with Dr. Bradley's leadership a steady stream of Gordon-Conwell Charlotte graduates began working in mental health professions in Charlotte and throughout North and South Carolina.

In terms of electronic technology, the Charlotte campus and faculty had begun in the 1990s by exploring the impact of technology on biblical exegesis and encouraging students to use emerging Bible software such as Bibleworks. With the completion of the permanent campus in 2003, classrooms and the library allowed for the use of wireless networks and the internet to enhance instruction. In 2007, the Charlotte campus was awarded a \$500,000 grant from the Kern Foundation for hybrid and online course development. Funds from that grant led to developing the program that has now become the Master of Arts in Christian Ministries (MACM) degree, building the hybrid courses that serve all of our degree programs and purchasing the infrastructure for the Gordon-Conwell libraries to provide electronic databases, E-reserves, and E-books for the entire Seminary community.

The integration of technology with theological education at Gordon-Conwell Charlotte has raised a number of practical issues, including:

1. Training students in the use of technology for research and classroom purposes.
2. Changing and upgrading hardware and software, as what is "state-of-the-art" when purchased becomes obsolete within five years or sooner.¹⁸
3. Planning a technological infrastructure that will allow for these changes and upgrades to be integrated for years to come.
4. Assisting faculty with the integration of technology into the teaching and learning process.

These challenges continue to be addressed in the new campus addition that was dedicated in May 2015. "Smart classrooms" allow for the seamless use of technology to enhance classroom learning. The new campus addition provides flexible space for additional classrooms, large campus activities such as integrative seminars and educational events, and a multi-screened classroom with seating for over 100 people and the infrastructure to connect globally with students, faculty, and church leaders throughout the globe.

Teaching and learning

Despite the theoretical and pragmatic issues that seminaries and divinity schools (and their libraries) face in attempting to use technology effectively, many in theological education would agree with James Waits: "The new technology...offers a dramatically efficient means of communication and teaching. The new accessibility to information, even within the confines of religion and theology, is enormous, and holds great potential for entire new categories of learning and awareness. The effect on pedagogy, on faculty research, on library and information resources is immense."¹⁹

The impact of technology on teaching and learning in theological institutions is dramatic in two ways. First, like their colleagues throughout academia, theological faculties face the

18 For example, my desktop computer used Windows XP and I was able to use XP for several years despite several upgrades to the operating system. In 2014, Microsoft announced that it would no longer support Windows XP, forcing me and many other corporate and business users to upgrade.

19 Waits, "Looking Forward, Looking Backward," 54.

same pressures from technological development and innovation: “Professors now not only need computers for research, writing, and communications, but they are becoming aware that they need to be trained to use technological innovation for instructional purposes in the classroom.”²⁰ In addition, the expectations of theological students regarding the use of technology continue to increase: “With each new wave of technological innovation there is a reciprocal demand from students and faculty for access.” This is especially seen in theological libraries and classrooms as students ask for the same kinds of access to electronic resources that they experienced in larger colleges and universities during their undergraduate years.

During the last twenty years, teaching and learning in seminaries and divinity schools has been impacted by rapid growth in adult, second-career students.²¹ “Adults who come with different life experience and professional backgrounds bring with them different expectations about teaching in relation to learning.”²² One effect of these developments appears to be what Cannell describes as a “shift in orientation from teaching to learning....The walls between learner and information are breaking down” and “the classroom is no longer the only place where education takes place.”²³ In actuality, seminaries and divinity schools are populated with two types of adult learners. Young adults, often fresh out of undergraduate study, tend to bring an intellectual curiosity, a higher level of energy, and more time to their seminary or divinity school studies.²⁴ This often “allows younger students to form stronger community involvements and deeper relationships outside the classroom.”²⁵ Older, more “mature” adult students, on the other hand, “learn in order to meet their perceived needs” and therefore “learn best when their learning is grounded in their experience.”²⁶ It is here, according to Christine Blair, that we find the core of how faculty and student expectations can often clash:

Students today often look for immediate benefits and usefulness in their learning. They demand instant skills or applications. They want tools. The faculty, on the other hand, desires education to be intellectually and emotionally stimulating, a catalyst for personal growth and change. Professors want students to be acquainted with the larger community of discourse in a subject area, to understand the deep theoretical issues within the discourse and the implications of the differences for faith and ministry. To return to the tool metaphor, they wish to help the students understand the physics of tools: why the tools work and which ones to choose. They expect their experience and education to give them the authority to teach these matters.²⁷

As faculty, administrators, and librarians in theological institutions grapple with the shift toward a learning paradigm, they have discovered two important tools that enhance the teaching-learning process. First, mentors help to create a supportive learning environment.²⁸ Mentoring

20 Luder G. Whitlock, “Theological Education in the Twenty-First Century,” *Theological Education* 36 (2000): 57.

21 Hillary Wicai, “Clergy by the Numbers: Statistics Show It’s Not a Youthful Picture,” *Congregations* 27 (Mar/Apr 2001): 6-7: “Robert Kohler, assistant general secretary for the Section of Elders and Local Pastors at the General Board of Higher Education Ministry [for the United Methodist Church], speculates that 25 years ago 80% of seminary graduates were under 35. Now, he estimates, 80% are second- or even third-career types— people over 35 looking for a major life change. Kohler is not that far off. According to the Association of Theological Schools’ 1999-2000 Profile of Participants, to which 3,964 students at 103 seminaries responded, 30% of seminary graduates were under 30.”

22 Cannell, “Review of Literature,” 17.

23 *Ibid.*, 17.

24 Alexandra Greeley, “Views from the Seminary: Why Theological Education Needs Young Pastors,” *Congregations* 27 (Mar/Apr 2001): 20.

25 *Ibid.*, 21. According to L. Gregory Jones, dean of the divinity school at Duke University, “This enhances the formation of their ministerial character. A lot of education and character formation happens outside of the classroom.”

26 Christine E. Blair, “Understanding Adult Learners: Challenges for Theological Education,” *Theological Education* 34 (1997): 20, 17.

27 *Ibid.*, 21.

28 Malcolm Knowles, *The Adult Learner: A Neglected Species*, 4th ed. (Houston: Gulf Publishing, 1990), 179-81.

is an idea with deep roots in Christian and Jewish traditions²⁹ and several studies have shown that adult learning is strengthened when students have mentors who work with them. Second, “good organization helps to create a supportive learning environment.”³⁰ According to Blair, good organization involves good physical facilities, a warm atmosphere, and clear, consistent communication about programs and activities.

Gordon-Conwell Charlotte began with an adult education model designed to make theological education affordable and accessible to adult students who desire to prepare for vocational Christian ministry and service. Since their beginning, the bulk of GCTS-Charlotte course offerings have been held on evenings and weekends. Weekend classes allowed students who lived outside of Charlotte to attend classes and work toward one of seven degrees currently offered. Evening classes were gradually added especially in the biblical languages to allow students living in the metro-Charlotte area the opportunity for more regular contact with their professors. Today, we still offer weekend and evening classes, but our course offerings have expanded to include hybrid and online classes as well as one-week intensive classes offered throughout the academic year. And, with the addition of our Department of Lutheran Studies in 2013, weekday courses are now offered on Mondays and Tuesdays.

This adult-education model of graduate theological education has been replicated in Gordon-Conwell’s newest campus in Jacksonville, Florida. Birthed in 2005 as the result of an initiative by then President Walter Kaiser, the Jacksonville campus was guided in its first several years by the Charlotte campus dean assisted by faculty and administration at Charlotte. The same adult education model has been adapted for Jacksonville, and current Jacksonville assistant dean Ryan Reeves argues that the teaching/learning paradigm pioneered in Charlotte is having good results in that location, especially with the move to their new campus location at the Salem Center in South Jacksonville in 2013. The Jacksonville campus uses this model to offer four degree programs: the MDiv, the Master of Arts in Christian Leadership (MACL), the Master of Arts, Christian Thought (MACT), and the Master of Arts, Religion (MAR).

After Dr. Bradley’s retirement from his work as Charlotte dean and professor of counseling, the Seminary appointed Old Testament professor Dr. Timothy Laniak as the fourth Charlotte Dean in 2008. Having served on the Charlotte faculty since 1997, Dr. Laniak brought rich academic and administrative experience to his new role, a role that would face immediate challenge due to the severe recession in the United States from 2007-2011. A new century has brought dramatic challenge both to the church and to theological education, especially in terms of new economic realities and the formation of pastoral identity. Dr. Laniak has led the Charlotte campus to embrace new approaches to theological education, including a vital lay education program designed to equip lay church leaders and teachers in biblical interpretation and teaching. Called “Bible Journey,” the program features three Old Testament and three New Testament courses that allow lay people to receive biblical instruction with the goal of using that in lay education in their congregations. “Bible Journey” is now being developed online in a way that will allow it to expand even more.

The adult education model on the Charlotte campus has attracted two kinds of students to Gordon-Conwell Charlotte. Early on, our student body was made up primarily of second-career students who continued their full-time or part-time jobs while taking one or two classes each semester, including summer term. Summer semester allows our students to make good progress toward degree completion even while attending seminary part time. As our programs grew, we noticed a second type of adult student coming to the Charlotte campus. These were

29 For example, see the work of the late Roman Catholic writer Henri J.M. Nouwen, especially *The Genesee Diary: Report from a Trappist Monastery* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1981), and *The Wounded Healer: Ministry in Contemporary Society* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1972).

30 Blair, “Understanding Adult Learners,” 14.

students who were already serving in pastoral ministry or in another vocational setting who wanted a seminary degree. Many denominations and congregations do not necessarily require the MDiv for ordination,³¹ and yet many of these clergy are deeply committed to enhancing their biblical, theological, and leadership skills through theological education.

One response to this is the Master of Arts in Christian Leadership (MACL). Led by Dr. Rodney Cooper, the MACL grew out of the earlier Center for Development of Evangelical Leadership, a Charlotte campus project funded by a Lilly Foundation grant that explored the nature of leadership in theological education and by extension in congregations and Christian organizations. First established in 2006, the MACL expresses an important value of the Charlotte campus: attention to leadership formation and development in congregational life and in a variety of Christian vocational settings.

Integral to the Charlotte campus adult education model is the concept of the integration between theory and practice in theological education and ministry preparation, a concept introduced by Wayne Goodwin during his tenure as campus dean. For Charlotte students and faculty, emphasis has been given to classroom learning and ministry practice informing each other in the life of the individual student. As students come for weekend and week-night classes, they are encouraged not only to reflect theoretically, but also to apply their learnings in their pastoral or lay ministries in the congregations where they worship and serve. Vice versa, students are encouraged to bring their questions and learnings from their congregational settings and allow them to inform their classroom experience with faculty.

This integration of theory and practice is seen intentionally in the Charlotte mentored ministry program. More than field education, mentored ministry provides opportunity for students to engage in reflective practice of ministry under the guidance of a supervisor in a congregational or ministry setting. Charlotte professional degree students are required to secure a mentor during their first year of academic study. The mentor is often a pastor or church leader who has received a graduate theological degree and is an experienced ministry practitioner. Students and mentors meet regularly over the course of each student's seminary degree program for fellowship and reflection on the student's seminary experience and the overall direction of each's preparation for ministry. In addition, students take six one-credit hour ministry rotations designed to help them engage aspects of congregational life. Each rotation consists of forty eight hours of ministry practice under the guidance of a specific supervisor (who may or may not be the student's mentor). Mentoring and rotations are a part of what is termed "readiness for ministry," a process that is culminated by a course titled MC850: Readiness for Ministry.

Although readiness for ministry and mentored ministry have been part of the Charlotte campus since its inception, the campus faculty has become more concerned with the idea of pastoral identity and formation and ways to enhance the readiness for ministry process. In Fall 2015, Dr. Steve Klipowicz, the Charlotte director of ministry formation, introduced the E-portfolio to the MACM degree program. In the E-portfolio, students will build an electronic catalog consisting of coursework, mentored ministry projects, and other artifacts of their academic and ministry experiences while at Gordon-Conwell. They will also add their personal learning and reflection on academic, professional, and spiritual formation. Students will take one-unit E-portfolio courses at the beginning and end of their degree program, and the E-portfolio will allow for better assessment not only of student development, but also of the degree program by the Seminary.

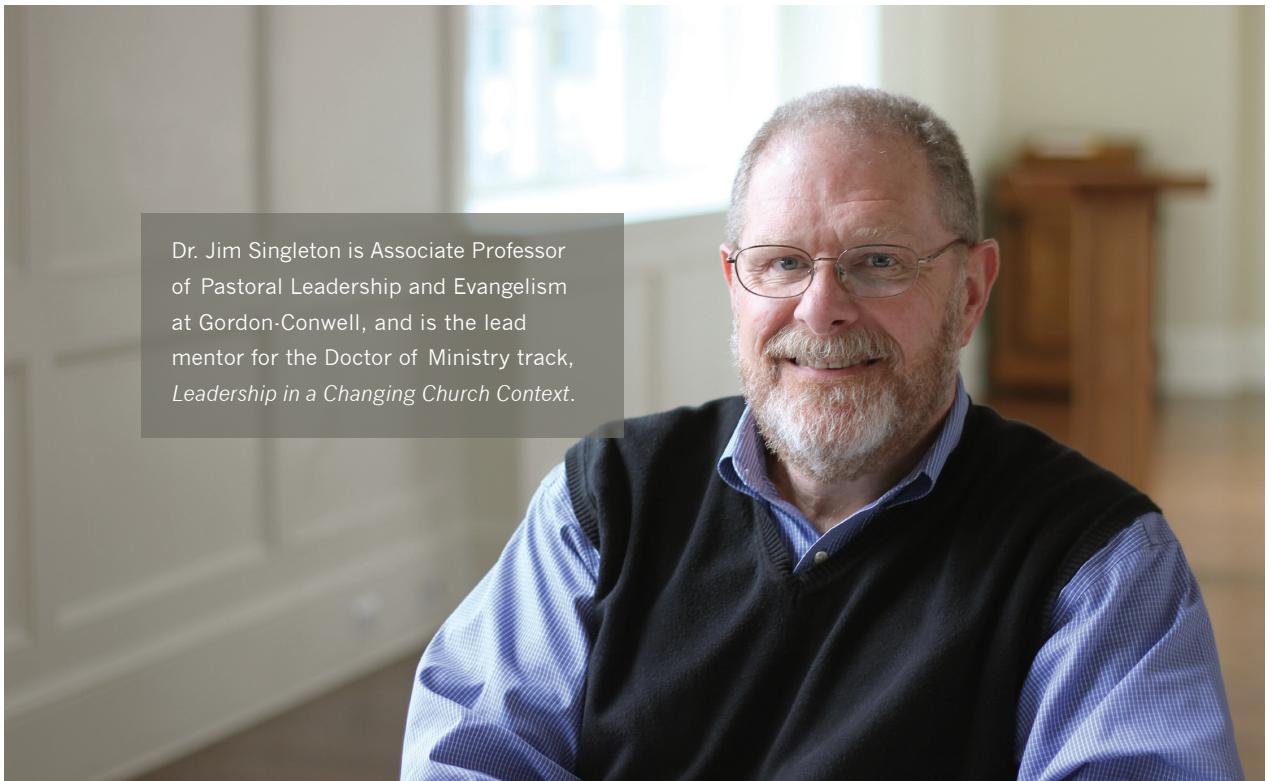
³¹ At the fall 2015 faculty retreat, Dr. James Singleton reported on the results of a study of ordination standards for 45 denominations served by Gordon-Conwell. Twenty-six of the 48 denominations and associations surveyed did not require the MDiv for ordination, and some of those did not require any seminary degree as part of their credentialing. See James Singleton, *Ordination-Licensing-Credentialing: How Does a Student Turn into a Pastor?* (Fall Faculty Retreat, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, August 26-28, 2015). Power-point presentation.

Theological education for the twenty-first century

The Charlotte campus has produced over 1,000 graduates who serve in Christian vocations in the American Southeast and throughout the world. Many of those students have embraced the call of pastoral ministry. Others are serving in counseling and mental health practices. Still others serve in Christian organizations and in world missions. Some have even sensed God's call to remain in their professional vocation (law, medicine, accounting, and others) and serve Christ in their original calling. Some have pursued further education, including doctoral studies. And some have become writers and authors whose work has benefited the cause of Christ through biblically grounded literature of various forms.

What does the future hold? While predictions often have a way of going awry, it is safe to say that at the core of the Charlotte campus is the preparation of people for vocational Christian service with an education faithful to the theological ethos that Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary has held since its beginnings in 1892 and 1897 and its merger in 1969. That will require continued innovation, especially in terms of making theological education affordable for students, offering theological education in ways that address what students can readily access, and preparing students to meet the challenges of Christian leadership and ministry in a world shaped by each one's country and by a growing ethnic diversity due to globalization. That diversity has already been seen at the Charlotte campus with many of our students coming from theological education from Asian and African-American contexts, and over a third of our student body being women. That reality will only increase and our challenge will be to serve all of the Body of Christ in its growing diversity in Charlotte, in North and South Carolina, and ultimately throughout the entire world.

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The Ministry of Women¹

A. J. GORDON

The occasion for writing the following article is this: At a recent summer convention a young lady missionary had been appointed to give an account of her work at one of the public sessions. The scruples of certain of the delegates against a woman's addressing a mixed assembly were found to be so strong, however, that the lady was withdrawn from the programme, and further public participation in the conference confined to its male constituency.

The conscientious regard thus displayed for Paul's alleged injunction of silence in the church on the part of women, deserves our highest respect. But with a considerable knowledge of the nature and extent of woman's work on the missionary field, the writer has long believed that it is exceedingly important that that work, as now carried on, should either be justified from Scripture, or, if that were impossible, that it be so modified as to bring it into harmony with the exact requirements of the Word of God. For while it is true that many Christians believe that women are enjoined from publicly preaching the Gospel, either at home or abroad, it is certainly true that scores of missionary women are at present doing this very thing. They are telling out the good news of salvation to heathen men and women publicly and from house to house, to little groups gathered by the wayside, or to larger groups assembled in the zayats. It is not affirmed that a majority of women missionaries are engaged in this kind of work, but that scores are doing it, and doing it with the approval of the boards under which they are serving. If any one should raise the technical objection that because of its informal and colloquial character this is not preaching, we are ready to affirm that it comes much nearer the preaching enjoined in the great commission than does the reading of a theological disquisition from the pulpit on Sunday morning, or the discussion of some ethical or sociological question before a popular audience on Sunday evening.

But the purpose of this article is not to condemn the ministry of missionary women described above, or to suggest its modification, but rather to justify and vindicate both its propriety and authority by a critical examination of Scripture on the question at issue.

In order to a right understanding of this subject, it is necessary for us to be reminded that we are living in the dispensation of the Spirit—a dispensation which differs most radically from that of the law which preceded it. As the day of Pentecost ushered in this new economy, so the prophecy of Joel, which Peter rehearsed on that day, outlined its great characteristic features. Let us briefly consider this prophecy:

- 17 And it shall be in the last days, saith God,
I will pour forth of my Spirit upon all flesh:
And your sons and your daughters shall prophesy,
And your young men shall see visions,
And your old men shall dream dreams:
- 18 Yea and on my servants and on my handmaidens in those days
Will I pour forth of my Spirit: and they shall prophesy.
- 19 And I will shew wonders in the heaven above,
And signs on the earth beneath;
Blood, and fire, and vapor of smoke:

1 This article was first printed in *The Missionary Review of the World*, VII.12 (December 1894): 910-921. Our appreciation to Esther Eng, who retyped this article and the commentary and Kris Johnson, who proofread it from the original.

20 The sun shall be turned into darkness,
 And the moon into blood,
 Before the day of the Lord come,
 That great and notable day:

21 And it shall be, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved
 (Acts 2:17-24, R. V. [ASV]).

It will be observed that four classes are here named as being brought into equal privileges under the outpoured Spirit:

1. *Jew and Gentile*: “All flesh” seems to be equivalent to “every one who” or “whosoever,” named in the twenty-first verse. Paul expounds this phrase to mean both Jew and Gentile (Rom. 10:13): “For there is no difference between the *Jew and the Greek*...For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.”
2. *Male and female*: “And your sons and your daughters shall prophesy.”
3. *Old and young*: “Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams.”
4. *Bondmen and bondmaidens* (*vide* R. V. [ASV] margin): “And on my *servants* and on my *handmaidens* in those days will I pour forth of My Spirit, and they shall prophesy.”

Now, evidently these several classes are not mentioned without a definite intention and significance; for Paul, in referring back to the great baptism through which the Church of the New Covenant was ushered in, says: “For in one Spirit were we all baptized into one body, whether *Jews or Greeks, whether bond or free*” (1 Cor. 12:13, R. V. [ASV]). Here he enumerates two classes named in Joel’s prophecy; and in another passage he mentions three: “For as many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ; there can be neither *Jew nor Greek*; there can be neither *bond nor free*; there can be no *male and female*; for ye are all one man in Christ Jesus” (Gal. 3:28, R. V. [ASV]).

We often hear this phrase, “neither male nor female,” quoted as though it were a rhetorical figure; but we insist that the inference is just, that if the Gentile came into vastly higher privileges under grace than under the law, so did the woman; for both are spoken of in the same category.

Here, then, we take our starting-point for the discussion. This prophecy of Joel, realized at Pentecost, is the *Magna Charta* of the Christian Church. It gives to woman a status in the Spirit hitherto unknown. And, as in civil legislation, no law can be enacted which conflicts with the constitution, so in Scripture we shall expect to find no text which denies to woman her divinely appointed rights in the New Dispensation.

“*Your sons and your daughters shall prophesy.*” Here is woman’s equal warrant with man’s for telling out the Gospel of the grace of God. So it seems, at least, for this word “prophesy” in the New Testament “signifies not merely to foretell future events, but to communicate religious truth in general under a Divine inspiration” (*vide* Hackett on “Acts,” p. 49), and the spirit of prophecy was henceforth to rest, not upon the favored few, but upon the many, without regard to race, or age, or sex. All that we can gather from the New Testament use of this word leads us to believe that it embraces that faithful witnessing for Christ, that fervent telling out of the Gospel under the impulse of the Holy Spirit, which was found in the early Church, and is found just as truly among the faithful to-day.

Some, indeed, foreseeing whither such an admission might lead, have insisted on limiting the word “prophesy” to its highest meaning—that of inspired prediction or miraculous revelation—and have then affirmed that the age of miracles having ceased, therefore Joel’s prophecy cannot be cited as authority for women’s public witnessing for Christ to-day.

This method of reasoning has been repeatedly resorted to in similar exigencies of interpretation,

but it has not proved satisfactory. When William Carey put his finger on the words, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature," and asked if this command were not still binding on the Church, he was answered by his brethren: "No! The great commission was accompanied by the miraculous gift of tongues; this miracle has ceased in the Church, and therefore we cannot hope to succeed in such an enterprise unless God shall send another Pentecost." But Carey maintained that the power of the Spirit could be still depended on, as in the beginning, for carrying out the great commission; and a century of missions has vindicated the correctness of his judgment. When, within a few years, some thoughtful Christians have asked whether the promise, "The prayer of faith shall save the sick," is not still in force, the theologians have replied: "No; this refers to miraculous healing; and the age of miracles ended with the apostles." And now it is said that "prophecy" also belongs in the same catalogue of miraculous gifts which passed away with the apostles. It is certainly incumbent upon those who advocate this view to bring forward some evidence of its correctness from Scripture, which, after repeated challenges, they have failed to do, and must fail to do. Our greatest objection to the theory is, that it fails to make due recognition of the Holy Spirit's perpetual presence in the Church—a presence which implies the equal perpetuity of His gifts and endowments.

If, now, we turn to the history of the primitive Church, we find the practice corresponding to the prophecy. In the instance of Philip's household, we read: "Now this man had four daughters which did prophesy" (Acts 21:9); and in connection with the Church in Corinth we read: "Every woman praying and prophesying with her head unveiled" (1 Cor. 11:5); which passage we shall consider further on, only rejoicing as we pass that "praying" has not yet, like its yoke-fellow, "prophesying," been remanded exclusively to the apostolic age.

Having touched thus briefly on the positive side of this question, we now proceed to consider the alleged prohibition of women's participation in the public meetings of the Church, found in the writings of Paul.

We shall examine, first, the crucial text contained in 1 Tim. 2:8-11:

- 8 I desire therefore that men pray in every place, lifting up holy hands without wrath and doubting.
- 9 In like manner that women adorn themselves in modest apparel with shamefastness and sobriety; not with braided hair and gold or pearls or costly raiment;
- 10 but (which becometh women professing godliness) through good works.
- 11 Let a woman learn in quietness with all subjection. But I permit not a woman to teach, nor to have dominion over a man, but to be in quietness, etc. (R. V. [ASV]).

This passage has generally been regarded as perhaps the strongest and most decisive, for the silence of women in the Church. It would be very startling, therefore, were it shown that it really contains an exhortation to the orderly and decorous participation of women in public prayer. Yet such is the conclusion of some of the best exegetes.

By general consent the force of *boulomai*, "I will," is carried over from the eighth verse into the ninth: "*I will that women*" (*vide* Alford). And what is it that the apostle will have women do? The words, "*in like manner*," furnish a very suggestive hint toward one answer, and a very suggestive hindrance to another and common answer. Is it meant that he would have the men pray in every place, and the women, "*in like manner*," to be silent? But where would be the similarity of conduct in the two instances? Or does the intended likeness lie between the men's "lifting up holy hands," and the women's adorning themselves in modest apparel? So unlikely is either one of these conclusions from the apostle's language, that, as Alford concedes, "Chrysostom and most commentators supply *proseuchesthai*, 'to pray,' in order to complete the sense." If they are right in

so construing the passage—and we believe the *hōsautōs*, “in like manner,” compels them to this course—then the meaning is unquestionable. “I will, therefore, that men pray everywhere, lifting up holy hands, etc. In like manner I will that women pray in modest apparel, etc.”

In one of the most incisive and clearly reasoned pieces of exegesis with which we are acquainted, Wiesinger, the eminent commentator, thus interprets the passage, and, as it seems to us, clearly justifies his conclusions. We have not space to transfer his argument to these pages, but we may, in a few words, give a summary of it, mostly in his own language. He says:

- “1. In the words ‘*in every place*’ it is chiefly to be observed that it is public prayer and not secret prayer that is spoken of.
- “2. The *proseuchesthai*, ‘to pray,’ is to be supplied in verse 9, and to be connected with ‘*in modest apparel*;’ so that this special injunction as to the conduct of women in prayer corresponds to that given to the men in the words ‘*lifting up holy hands*.’ This verse, then, from the beginning, refers to prayer; and what is said of the women in verses 9 and 10 is *to be understood as referring primarily to public prayer*.
- “3. The transition in verse 11 from *gonaikas* to *gune* shows that the apostle now passes on to something new—viz., the relation of the married woman to her husband. She is to be in quietness rather than drawing attention to herself by public appearance; to learn rather than to teach; to be in subjection rather than in authority.”

In a word, our commentator finds no evidence from this passage that women were forbidden to pray in the public assemblies of the Church; though reasoning back from the twelfth verse to those before, he considers that they may have been enjoined from public teaching. The latter question we shall consider further on.

The interpretation just given has strong presumption in its favor, from the likeness of the passage to another which we now consider:

- 4 Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonoreth his head.
- 5 But every woman praying or prophesying with her head unveiled dishonoreth her head. (1 Cor. 11:4, 5.)

By comment consent the reference is here to public worship; and the decorous manner of taking part therein is pointed out first for the man and then for the woman. “Every woman praying or prophesying.” Bengel’s terse comment: “*Therefore women were not excluded from these duties*,” is natural and reasonable. It is quite incredible, on the contrary, that the apostle should give himself the trouble to prune a custom which he desired to uproot, or that he should spend his breath in condemning a forbidden *method* of doing a forbidden thing. This passage is strikingly like the one just considered, in that the proper order of doing having been prescribed, first for the man, and then for the woman, it is impossible to conclude that the thing to be done is then enjoined only upon the one party, and forbidden to the other. If the “*in like manner*” has proved such a barrier to commentators against finding an injunction for the silence of women in 1 Tim. 2:9, the unlike manner pointed out in this passage is not less difficult to be surmounted by those who hold that women are forbidden to participate in public worship. As the first passage has been shown to give sanction to woman’s praying in public, this one points not less strongly to her habit of both praying and prophesying in public.

We turn now to the only remaining passage which has been urged as decisive for the silence of women—viz., 1 Cor. 14:34, 35:

- 34 Let the women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to

speak;
but let them be in subjection, as also saith the law.

35 And if they would learn anything, let them ask their own husbands at home: for it is shameful for a woman to speak in the church.

Here, again, the conduct of women in the church should be studied in relation to that of men if we would rightly understand the apostle's teaching. Let us observe, then, that the injunction to silence is three times served in this chapter by the use of the same Greek word, *sigatō*, twice on men and once on women, and that in every case the silence commanded is conditional, not absolute.

"*Let him keep silence in the church*" (verse 28), it is said to one speaking with tongues, but on the condition that "there be no interpreter."

"*Let the first keep silence*" (verse 30), it is said of the prophets, "speaking by two or three;" but it is on condition that "a revelation be made to another sitting by."

"*Let the women keep silence in the church*," it is said again, but it is evidently on condition of their interrupting the service with questions, since it is added, "for it is not permitted them to speak, . . . and if they would learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home." This last clause takes the injunction clearly out of all reference to praying or prophesying, and shows—what the whole chapter indicates—that the apostle is here dealing with the various forms of disorder and confusion in the church; not that he is repressing the decorous exercise of spiritual gifts, either by men or by women. If he were forbidding women to pray or to prophesy in public, as some argue, what could be more irrelevant or meaningless than his direction concerning the case: "If they will learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home"?

In fine, we may reasonably insist that this text, as well as the others discussed above, be considered in the light of the entire New Testament teaching—the teaching of prophecy, the teaching of practice, and the teaching of contemporary history—if we would find the true meaning.

Dr. Jacob, in his admirable work, "The Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament," considering the question after this broad method, thus candidly and, as it seems to us, justly, sums up the whole question: "A due consideration of this ministry of gifts in the earliest days of Christianity—those times of high and sanctified spiritual freedom—both shows and justifies the custom of the public ministration of women at that time in the Church. The very ground and title of this ministry being the acknowledged possession of some gift, and such gifts being bestowed on women as well as men, the former as well as the latter were allowed to use them in Christian assemblies. *This seems to me quite evident from Paul's words in 1 Cor. 11:5, where he strongly condemns the practice of women praying or prophesying with the head unveiled, without expressing the least objection to this public ministration on their part, but only finding fault with what was considered an unseemly attire for women thus publicly engaged.* The injunction contained in the same epistle (1 Cor. 14:34), 'Let your women keep silence,' etc., refers, as the context shows, not to prophesying or praying in the congregation, but to making remarks and asking questions about the words of others."

On the whole, we may conclude, without over-confidence, that there is no Scripture which prohibits women from praying or prophesying in the public assemblies of the Church; that, on the contrary, they seem to be exhorted to the first exercise by the word of the apostle (1 Tim. 2:9); while for prophesying they have the threefold warrant of inspired prediction (Acts 2:17), of primitive practice (Acts 21:9), and of apostolic provision (1 Cor. 11:4).²

2 The following note, which we transcribe from Meyer's Commentary, seems to be a fair and well-balanced resumé of the case: "This passage (1 Tim. 2:8-11) does not distinctly forbid *proseuchesthai* (to pray) to women; it only distinctly forbids *didaskein* (to teach) on their part. There is the same apparent contradiction between 1 Cor. 14:34, 35 and 1 Cor. 11:5, 13. While in the former passage *lalein* (to speak) is forbidden to women, in the latter *proseuchesthai* (to pray) and even *prophēteuein* (to prophesy) are presupposed as things done by women, and the apostle does not forbid it. The solution is that Paul wishes everything in the Church to be done decently and in order, while, on the other hand, he holds by the principle, 'Quench not the Spirit.'"

As to the question of teaching, a difficulty arises which it is not easy to solve. If the apostle, in his words to Timothy, absolutely forbids a woman to teach and expound spiritual truth, then the remarkable instance of a woman doing this very thing at once occurs to the mind (Acts 18:26)—an instance of private teaching possibly, but endorsed and made conspicuously public by its insertion in the New Testament.

In view of this example, some have held that the statement in 1 Tim. 2:9, with the entire paragraph to which it belongs, refers to the married woman's domestic relations, and not to her public relations; to her subjection to the teaching of her husband as against her dogmatic lording it over him. This is the view of Canon Garratt, in his excellent observations on the "Ministry of Women." Admit, however, that the prohibition is against public teaching; what may it mean? To teach and to govern are the special functions of the presbyter. The teacher and the pastor, named in the gifts to the Church (Eph. 4:11), Alford considers to be the same; and the pastor is generally regarded as identical with the bishop. Now there is no instance in the New Testament of a woman being set over a church as bishop and teacher. The lack of such example would lead us to refrain from ordaining a woman as pastor of a Christian congregation. But if the Lord has fixed this limitation, we believe it to be grounded, not on her less favored position in the privileges of grace, but in the impediments to such service existing in nature itself.

It may be said against the conclusion which we have reached concerning the position of women, that the plain reading of the New Testament makes a different impression on the mind. That may be so on two grounds: first, on that of traditional bias; and second, on that of unfair translation. Concerning the latter point, it would seem as though the translators of our common version wrought, at every point where this question occurs, under the shadow of Paul's imperative, "Let your women keep silence in the churches."

Let us take two illustrations from names found in that constellation of Christian women mentioned in Rom. 16: "I commend unto you Phoebe our sister, which is a servant of the church which is at Cenchreæ." So, according to the King James version, writes Paul. But the same word *diakonos*, here translated "servant," is rendered "minister" when applied to Paul and Apollos (1 Cor. 3:5), and "deacon" when used of other male officers of the Church (1 Tim. 3:10, 12, 13). Why discriminate against Phoebe simply because she is a woman? The word "servant" is correct for the general unofficial use of the term, as in Matt. 22:11; but if Phoebe were really a functionary of the Church, as we have a right to conclude, let her have the honor to which she is entitled. If "Phoebe, a minister of the Church at Cenchreæ," sounds too bold, let the word be transliterated, and read, "Phoebe, a deacon"—a *deacon*, too, without the insipid termination "ess," of which there is no more need than that we should say "teacheress" or "doctress." This emendation "deaconess" has timidly crept into the margin of the Revised Version [ASV], thus adding prejudice to slight by the association which this name has with High Church sisterhoods and orders. It is wonderful how much there is in a name! "Phoebe, a servant," might suggest to an ordinary reader nothing more than the modern church drudge, who prepares sandwiches and coffee for an ecclesiastical sociable. To Canon Garratt, with his genial and enlightened view of woman's position in apostolic times, "Phoebe, a deacon," suggests a useful co-laborer of Paul, "travelling about on missionary and other labors of love."

Again, we read in the same chapter of Romans, "*Greet Priscilla and Aquila, my helpers in Christ Jesus.*" Notice the order here; the woman's name put first, as elsewhere (Acts 18:18; 2 Tim. 4:19). But when we turn to that very suggestive passage in Acts 18:26 we find the order reversed, and the man's name put first: "Whom, when Aquila and Priscilla had heard, they took him and expounded unto him the way of the Lord more perfectly." Yet this is conceded to be wrong, according to the best manuscripts. Evidently to some transcriber or critic the startling question presented itself: "Did not Paul say, 'I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man?' but here a woman is actually taking the lead as theological teacher to Apollos, an eminent

minister of the Gospel, and so far setting up her authority as to tell him that he is not thoroughly qualified for his work! This will never do; if the woman cannot be silent, she must at least be thrust into the background." And so the order is changed, and the man's name has stood first for generations of readers. The Revised Version has rectified the error, and the woman's name now leads.

But how natural is this story, and how perfectly accordant with subsequent Christian history! We can readily imagine that, after listening to this Alexandrian orator, Priscilla would say to her husband: "Yes, he is eloquent and mighty in the Scriptures; but do you not see that he lacks the secret of power?" And so they took him and instructed him concerning the baptism of the Holy Ghost, with the result that he who before had been mighty in the Scriptures, now "mightily convinced the Jews." How often has this scene been reproduced; as, e.g., in the instance of Catherine of Siena instructing the corrupt clergy of her day in the things of the Spirit till they exclaimed in wonder, "Never man spake like this woman;" of Madame Guyon, who by her teaching made new men of scores of accomplished but unspiritual preachers of her time; of the humble woman of whom the evangelist Moody tells, who, on hearing some of his early sermons, admonished him of his need of the secret of power, and brought him under unspeakable obligation by teaching him of the same. It is evident that the Holy Spirit made this woman Priscilla a teacher of teachers, and that her theological chair has had many worthy incumbents through the subsequent Christian ages.

To follow still further the list of women workers mentioned in Rom. 16, we read: "Salute Tryphaena and Tryphosa, who labor in the Lord. Salute Persis the beloved, which labored much in the Lord" (verse 12). What was the work *in the Lord* which these so worthily wrought? Put with this quotation another: "Help those women which *labored with me in the Gospel*" (Phil. 4:3). Did they "labor in the Gospel" with the one restriction that they should not preach the Gospel? Did they "labor in the Lord" under sacred bonds to give no public witness for the Lord? "Ah! but there is that word of Paul to Timothy, 'Let the women learn in silence,'" says the plaintiff. No! It is not there. Here again we complain of an invidious translation. Rightly the Revised Version gives it: "Let a woman learn *in quietness*" (*hēsuchia*), an admonition not at all inconsistent with decorous praying and witnessing in the Christian assembly. When *men* are admonished, the King James translators give the right rendering to the same word: "That with *quietness* they work and eat their own bread" (2 Thess. 3:12), an injunction which no reader would construe to mean that they should refrain from speaking during their labor and their eating.

As a woman is named among the deacons in this chapter, so it is more than probable that one is mentioned among the apostles. "Salute Andronicus and Junia, my kinsmen, and my fellow-prisoners, who are of note among the apostles" (v. 7). Is Junia a feminine name? So it has been commonly held. But the *en tois apostolois*, with which it stands connected, has led some to conclude that it is Junias, the name of a man. This is not impossible. Yet Chrysostom, who, as a Greek Father, ought to be taken as a high authority, makes this frank and unequivocal comment on the passage: "*How great is the devotion of this woman, that she should be counted worthy of the name of an apostle!*"

These are illustrations which might be considerably enlarged, of the shadow which Paul's supposed law of silence for women has cast upon the work of the early translators—a shadow which was even thrown back into the Old Testament, so that we read in the Common Version: "The Lord gave the word; great was the company of those that published it" (Ps. 68:11); while the Revised correctly gives it: "The Lord giveth the word; *the women that publish the tidings are a great host.*"

Whether we are right or wrong in our general conclusions, there are some very interesting lessons suggested by this subject:

Especially, the value of experience as an interpreter of Scripture. The final exegesis is not always to be found in the lexicon and grammar. The Spirit is in the Word; and the Spirit is also in the Church, the body of regenerate and sanctified believers. To follow the voice of the Church apart from that of the written Word has never proved safe, but, on the other hand, it may be that we need to be admonished not to ignore the teaching of the deepest spiritual life of the Church in forming our conclusions concerning the meaning of Scripture. It cannot be denied that in every great spiritual awakening in the history of Protestantism the impulse for Christian women to pray and witness for Christ in the public assembly has been found irrepressible. It was so in the beginnings of the Society of Friends. It was so in the great evangelical revival associated with the names of Wesley and Whitfield [Whitefield]. It has been so in that powerful *renaissance* of primitive Methodism known as [T]he Salvation Army. It has been increasingly so in this era of modern missions and modern evangelism in which we are living. Observing this fact, and observing also the great blessing which has attended the ministry of consecrated women in heralding the Gospel, many thoughtful men have been led to examine the Word of God anew, to learn if it be really so that the Scriptures silence the testimony which the Spirit so signally blesses. To many it has been both a relief and a surprise to discover how little authority there is in the Word for repressing the witness of women in the public assembly, or for forbidding her to herald the Gospel to the unsaved. If this be so, it may be well for the plaintiffs in this case to beware lest, in silencing the voice of consecrated women, they may be resisting the Holy Ghost. The conjunction of these two admonitions of the apostle is significant: “Quench not the Spirit. Despise not prophesying[s]” (1 Thess. 5:19[-20]).

The famous Edward Irving speaks thus pointedly on this subject: “Who am I that I should despise the gift of God, because it is in a woman, whom the Holy Ghost despiseth not? . . . That women have with men an equal distribution of spiritual gifts is not only manifest from the fact (Acts 2; 18:26; 21:9; 1 Cor. 11:3, etc.), but from the very words of the prophecy of Joel itself, which may well rebuke those vain and thoughtless people who make light of the Lord’s work, because it appeareth among women. *I wish men would themselves be subject to the Word of God, before they lord it so over women’s equal rights in the great outpouring of the Spirit*” (Works, v. 555).

As is demanded, we have preferred to forego all appeals to reason and sentiment in settling the question, and to rest it solely on a literal interpretation of Scripture. Yet we cannot refrain from questioning whether the spiritual intuition of the Church has not been far in advance of its exegesis in dealing with this subject. We will not refer to the usage prevailing in many of our most spiritual and evangelical churches, but will cite some conspicuous public instances.

Annie Taylor’s missionary tour into Thibet has been the subject of world-wide comment. And now she is returning to that vast and perilous field with a considerable company of missionary recruits, both men and women, herself the leader of the expedition. In this enterprise of carrying the Gospel into the regions beyond, and preaching Christ to all classes, she is as full a missionary as was Paul, or Columba, or Boniface. Yet in all the comments of the religious press we have never once heard the question raised as to whether, in thus acting, she were not stepping out of woman’s sphere as defined in Scripture.

When before the Exeter Hall Missionary Conference in 1888, Secretary Murdock described the work of Mrs. Ingalls, of Burmah, declaring that, though not assuming ecclesiastical functions, yet by force of character on the one hand, and by the exigencies of the field on the other, she had come to be a virtual bishop over nearly a score of churches, training the native ministry in theology and homiletics, guiding the churches in the selection of pastors, and superintending the discipline of the congregations, the story evoked only applause, without a murmur of dissent from the distinguished body of missionary leaders who heard it.

When at that same conference, the representative of the Karen Mission having failed, it was asked whether there were any missionary present who could speak for that remarkable work, the

reply was, "Only one, and she is a woman." She was unhesitatingly accepted as the speaker; and though at first demurring, she finally consented, and had the honor of addressing perhaps the most august array of missionary leaders which has convened in this century. The clear and distinct tones in which Mrs. Armstrong told her story did not suggest "silence;" but the modesty and reserve of her bearing completely answered to the Scripture requirement of "quietness." And though she had among her auditors missionary secretaries, Episcopal bishops, Oxford professors, and Edinburgh theologians, not the slightest indication of objection to her service was anywhere visible.

We vividly remember, in the early days of woman's work in the foreign field, how that brilliant missionary to China, Miss Adele Fielde, was recalled by her board because of the repeated complaints of the senior missionaries that in her work she was transcending her sphere as a woman. "It is reported that you have taken upon you to preach," was the charge read by the chairman; "is it so?" She replied by describing the vastness and destitution of her field—village after village, hamlet after hamlet, yet unreached by the Gospel—and then how, with a native woman, she had gone into the surrounding country, gathered groups of men, women, and children—whoever would come—and told out the story of the cross to them. "If this is preaching, I plead guilty to the charge," she said. "And have you ever been ordained to preach?" asked her examiner. "No," she replied, with great dignity and emphasis—"no; but *I believe I have been foreordained.*" O woman! you have answered discreetly; and if, any shall ask for your foreordination credentials, put your finger on the words of the prophet: "Your sons and your daughters shall prophesy," and the whole Church will vote to send you back unhampered to your work, as happily the Board did in this instance.

How slow are we to understand what is written! Simon Peter, who on the Day of Pentecost had rehearsed the great prophecy of the new dispensation, and announced that its fulfilment had begun, was yet so holden of tradition that it took a special vision of the sheet descending from heaven to convince him that in the body of Christ "there can be neither Jew nor Gentile." And it has required another vision of a multitude of missionary women, let down by the Holy Spirit among the heathen, and publishing the Gospel to every tribe and kindred and people, to convince us that in that same body "there can be no male nor female." It is evident, however, that this extraordinary spectacle of ministering women has brought doubts to some conservative men as to "whereunto this thing may grow." Yet as believers in the sure word of prophecy, all has happened exactly according to the foreordained pattern, from the opening chapter of the new dispensation, when in the upper room "these all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication, *with the women*, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with His brethren," to the closing chapter, now fulfilling, when "the women that publish the tidings are a great host."³

The new economy is not as the old; and the defendants in this case need not appeal to the examples of Miriam, and Deborah, and Huldah, and Anna the prophetess. These were exceptional instances under the old dispensation; but she that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than they. And let the theologians who have recently written so dogmatically upon this subject consider whether it may not be possible that in this matter they are still under the law and not under grace; and whether, in sight of the promised land of world-wide evangelization, they may not hear the voice of God saying: "*Moses, my servant, is dead; now, therefore, arise and go over this Jordan.*"

3 Ps 68:11 ASV.

Commentary by Pamela J. Cole

The New England roots of Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary reach back to the Reverend Adoniram Judson Gordon of Clarendon Street Church, Boston. Although he is today remembered for his contributions to hymnody and the cause of world missions, in his own time he was a social radical. As a young preacher, he took an unpopular stand for abolition, and as a middle-aged minister was trundled off to jail for civil disobedience. He advocated the enfranchisement of women and their full participation in every social and political privilege enjoyed by men.

Concerned that young people might have an opportunity for theological education, he and his capable wife, Maria, were among the founders of the coeducational Boston Missionary Training School begun in 1889 and later to bear their name. Both the men and women students received field education experience during the summer, pastoring rural churches in northern New England while Gordon traveled from church to church administering the sacraments. There is nothing in his biography to indicate that he considered women ministers to be unscriptural in any way.

His strongest statement concerning women in the church came in response to women missionaries being prohibited from addressing plenary sessions of mission conferences because of the mistaken understanding of St. Paul's writings. Using St. Peter's speech at Pentecost as programmatic for the life of the early church ("I will pour out my Spirit on all flesh. Their sons and daughters shall prophesy" Acts 2:17 ff.), he made a careful critique of the biases of New Testament translators and commentators in assigning women an inferior role.

My attention was first drawn to this little-known nineteenth century statement by a quote in *The Bible Status of Women* written by Lee Anna Starr in 1926. As an alumna of Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, I took Starr's reference to GCTS librarian Tina Swart and asked for back copies of the *Missionary Review of the World* (of which Gordon himself was an assistant editor). We went down into the library basement together and found several years of the original periodicals tied together with a ribbon as they had been for seventy-five years. The complete article was in the 1894 volume published just before his sudden untimely death in 1895 at 59 years of age.

The presence of a respected evangelical scholar among the feminists of the last century was noteworthy for us in the 1970's when New England feminists were discovering their antecedents to be firmly rooted in that past era. In Dr. Gordon's life and ministry, three trends in particular help us to understand and expect his anti-sexist views: 1) His active support of the abolition movement; 2) His emphasis on the ministry of the Holy Spirit; 3) His appreciation for Maria, his coworker and wife.

1. During the 1840's and 50's, the movements for an end to slavery and for women's suffrage were closely linked. Frederick Douglass, the black orator whose watchword was "Right is of no sex, truth is of no color," Lucretia Mott, the Quaker preacher from Nantucket, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, author of *The Women's Bible*, were among the vigorous campaigners for both causes.

Certainly this position was taken in one of the monographs from which Gordon quotes. G. A. Jacobs wrote:

It so happens also that the work of Paul and Silas at Philippi serves to indicate the two great social revolutions effected by the Gospel, to which the growth and maintenance of family religion were principally due. The case of the slave-girl "possessed with spirit of divination," and the fact that the first congregation addressed by Paul in that place consisted of women, and that Lydia was the first convert, which began at once to lead the way to the abolition of slavery and the elevation of woman to her proper place in the social system; and by means of these changes to alter the whole character of domestic life.⁴

4 G. A. Jacobs, *The Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament* (1871), 176.

Besides such an attitude in the world of ideas, Gordon must have felt this influence in his youth. When Gordon was six years old, the fiery Bostonian, William Lloyd Garrison, had protested the unseating of women delegates at the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London by sitting with them in a curtained alcove. Garrison later became a frequent dinner guest at the Gordon family home and doubtless recounted the experience as an after-dinner anecdote.

2. Gordon's particular emphasis upon the Holy Spirit was also a factor in forming his feminist opinions. His overarching belief that the present period of history since the day of Pentecost is the dispensation of the Spirit served as the framework for his conclusion that the power and strength of the Holy Spirit gives Jew and Gentile, young and old, male and female, slave and free equal warrant for telling out the gospel of the grace of God.

His position was not new to the religious scene. For the Quakers, the authority for preaching came not from a person's achievements or characteristics but from the inward teaching of the Holy Spirit, the "inner light." Women as well as men were felt to be recipients, the most outstanding example being Elizabeth Fry (1780-1845), English preacher and prison reformer. In the United States another Quaker, Lucretia Mott, was an eloquent preacher who "rested on truth for her authority." She marshalled all her gifts of argument and oratory in support of abolition and women's suffrage, and was at the peak of her active ministry when A. J. Gordon entered the pastorate.

Gordon's writings bear out this principle that the Holy Spirit dispenses His gifts as He will. In *The Twofold Life* (1883), a sensitive study tracing the baptism and sealing of the Holy Spirit in the lives of Christian mystics, Gordon draws upon the writings of women with the same respect which he accords to male authors. He quotes from Madame Guyon and relates the spiritual experience of Mrs. Jonathan Edwards. Of Catherine of Siena he writes: "We are inclined to think that God would be as likely to speak to her as to any whom we could name."⁵ Frances Ridley Havergal is described as "that gifted woman in whom inspiration and aspiration were so beautifully blended." He sums up her influence upon him thus: "We wonder if any one in our day has spoken more directly to the heart of man, and more directly from the heart of God."⁶

3. A. J. Gordon's high regard and deep love for his wife, Maria, was yet a third strand woven into his feminist thinking. While he was President of the Boston Missionary Training School (1889-1895), she was both secretary and treasurer, positions she continued to occupy for nineteen years (until 1908). (She lived until 1921.) Described by Nathan R. Wood as equal to her husband, "in some, though different, ways," she taught various subjects such as "chapter studies of the Old Testament," practice in Bible reading (choral and individual), and "Synthetic Bible Study." As part of the coeducational faculty she was at once "devout, vigorous, positive, militant, generous, tireless, prayerful, warmhearted... in Church and School the practical supplement and balance-wheel of her husband's idealism."⁷ In one of his many letters to her he imagines people saying about them that "between his hold and her push, the result is a pretty strong team." Not hesitating to express his deep feelings, on another occasion he wrote: "I sometimes fear that my perfect happiness and contentment in my home, and my complete earthly bliss with my wife, may lead me to forget God. Let us make it a special subject of prayer that God may keep us from forgetting him or neglecting our duty to him. And when you come back to me, may I find you with a heart not only glowing with a love for me, but kindled with a more intense devotion to our dear Lord and Master Jesus Christ. How I thank God that you love him with me!"⁸

The mutuality of their marriage provided Gordon with the security he needed in order to speak forthrightly upon so volatile an issue as the leadership of women in the church.

5 A. J. Gordon, *The Twofold Life*, 2nd ed. (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1883), 112, 121.

6 Gordon, *Twofold Life*, 58-59.

7 Nathan R. Wood, *School of Christ* (Boston: Gordon College of Theology and Missions, 1953), 15, 25, 33-34, 50.

8 Ernest B. Gordon, *Adoniram Judson Gordon: A Biography* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1896), 42.

One may wonder why Gordon's views have never been included in an anthology of feminism and why they are not well-known among evangelical Christians today. As a piece of literature, it is true, this article has been largely ignored. Within the Boston Missionary Training School itself, however, the attitudes of Maria and A. J. Gordon continued to be so much felt that for many years the ratio of men and women on the faculty and in the student body remained nearly equal. Nathan Wood, in writing of the miracle of the school's development, mentions, "The miracle which enabled Frieda Bonney, a retiring, timid girl from a remote Vermont village, to become one of the best evangelistic preachers of her all too brief day."⁹

We can almost hear Dr. Gordon ask, "Where are the Gordon-Conwell women of the seventies?" The answer is clear. They are in the seminary, in Master's programs, including the Master of Divinity program; they are in the churches in many capacities. They have a noble and continuous heritage at A. J. Gordon's school, but some can hear their founder ask them a second question: "Are your opportunities for leadership in the church and in theological education as wide now as the vision I had for you in my day?"

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⁹ Wood, *School*, 192.

El ministerio de las mujeres¹

A. J. GORDON

La ocasión para escribir este artículo es esta: en una reciente convención de verano [probablemente en 1983], se le había pedido a una joven mujer misionera que hablara sobre su trabajo en una de las sesiones públicas. Algunos de los delegados tenían tantas quejas sobre una mujer hablando a una asamblea de hombres y mujeres que sacaron a la dama del programa y después de esto solamente dejaron que los miembros varones participaran en la conferencia pública.

La consideración tan seria para obedecer la supuesta instrucción de San Pablo de que mujeres guarden silencio en la iglesia merece nuestro máximo respeto. Pero con un amplio conocimiento de la naturaleza y alcance del trabajo de la mujer en el campo misionero, el escritor ha pensado por mucho tiempo que es sumamente importante que ese trabajo, que mujeres hacen ahora mismo, debe justificarse a partir de las Escrituras o, si eso no es posible, que sea modificado para armonizarlo con los requisitos precisos de la Palabra de Dios. Aunque es cierto que muchos cristianos piensan que mujeres no deben predicar las nuevas buenas en público, en los Estados Unidos o en el exterior, también es cierto que muchísimas mujeres trabajan actualmente como misioneras. Ellas están predicando las nuevas buenas de salvación a hombres y mujeres paganos en lugares públicos y de hogar a hogar, a grupos pequeños reunidos en lugares pequeños y a grupos grandes reunidos en lugares grandes. No se está afirmando que la mayoría de mujeres misioneras estén desarrollando este tipo de trabajo, pero muchísimas sí lo están haciendo, y con la aprobación de las organizaciones misioneras bajo las cuales sirven. Si alguien objeta que lo que las mujeres están haciendo técnicamente no es predicar dado el carácter informal y coloquial de su actividad, nosotros estaremos listo a afirmar que lo que ellas están haciendo es más parecido a la predicación de la gran comisión que el leer una disquisición teológica desde el pulpito un domingo por la mañana o que la discusión de alguna pregunta ética o sociológica antes de una audiencia popular una noche domingo.

Pero el propósito de este artículo no es condenar el ministerio de mujeres misioneras o sugerir la modificación de lo que se describe arriba, sino justificar y vindicar lo apropiado de lo que están haciendo y su autoridad, a partir de un examen crítico de las Escrituras sobre este asunto.

Para lograr una correcta comprensión de este tema, es necesario que nosotros recordemos que estamos viviendo en la dispensación del Espíritu—una dispensación que difiere radicalmente de la de la ley, que la precedió. Con el día de Pentecostés empieza esta dispensación nueva, y con la profecía de Joel, que San Pedro discutó ese día, describió las grandes características de esta dispensación. Vamos a brevemente considerar esta profecía:

“En los postreros días—dice Dios—, derramaré de mi Espíritu sobre toda carne, y vuestros hijos y vuestras hijas profetizarán; vuestros jóvenes verán visiones y vuestros ancianos soñarán sueños; y de cierto sobre mis siervos y sobre mis siervas, en aquellos días derramaré de mi Espíritu, y profetizarán. Y daré prodigios arriba en el cielo y señales abajo en la tierra, sangre, fuego y vapor de humo; el sol se convertirá en tinieblas y la luna en sangre, antes que venga el día del Señor, grande y glorioso. Y todo aquel que invoque el nombre del Señor, será salvo” (Hch 2:17–21).²

Podemos observar que aquí se nombran cuatro grupos como aquellos incluidos con privilegios iguales bajo del derramamiento del Espíritu:

1 *The Missionary Review of the World* 7.12 [diciembre 1894]: 910-21. El inglés fue traducido por Aida Besancon Spencer y Elizabeth de Sendek, rector del Seminario Bíblico de Colombia (julio 2014).

2 Toda cita de la Biblia es de Reina-Valera 95 si no está indicado otra versión.

1. *Judío y griego*: “toda carne” parece ser equivalente a “cada persona que” o “todo aquel,” mencionado en el versículo 21. San Pablo explica que esta frase indica a ambos judíos y griegos (Ro 10:12-13): “Porque no hay diferencia entre judío y griego,...porque todo aquel que invocare el nombre del Señor, será salvo.”
2. *Varón y mujer*: “vuestros hijos y vuestras hijas profetizarán.”
3. *Ancianos y jóvenes*: “vuestros jóvenes verán visiones, y vuestras ancianas soñarán sueños.”
4. *Siervos y siervas*: “sobre mis siervos y sobre mis siervas en aquellos días derramaré de mi Espíritu, y profetizarán.”

Estos grupos diferentes no son mencionados sin una intención y significación definida; San Pablo, al referirse al gran bautismo por el cual se introduce la iglesia del nuevo pacto, dice: “porque por un solo Espíritu fuimos todos bautizados en un cuerpo, tanto *judíos como griegos, tanto esclavos como libres*” (1 Co 12:13). Aquí él enumera dos grupos mencionados en la profecía de Joel; y en otro pasaje menciona tres: “pues todos los que habéis sido bautizados en Cristo, de Cristo estás revestidos. Ya no hay *judío ni griego*; no hay *esclavo ni libre*; no hay *hombre ni mujer*, porque todos vosotros sois uno en Cristo Jesús” (Gl 3:27-28).

Muchas veces oímos que se cita esta frase, “no hay hombre ni mujer,” como si fuera una figura retórica; pero insistimos que la inferencia es justa, que si el griego llegó tener privilegios mucho mejores bajo de la gracia que debajo de la ley, también los llegó a tener la mujer; porque de ambos se hablan en la misma categoría.

Aquí, entonces, empezamos nuestra discusión. La profecía de Joel, realizada en Pentecostés es la *Carta Magna* de la iglesia cristiana. Esta profecía da a la mujer una posición en el Espíritu que no se ha conocido antes. Y, como en leyes civiles, ninguna ley que riña con la constitución puede ser promulgada, también en las Escrituras esperamos encontrar no ningún texto que niegue el darle a la mujer sus derechos divinos designados en la nueva dispensación.

“*Vuestros hijos y vuestras hijas profetizarán.*” Aquí está la autorización de igualdad de la mujer con el hombre para proclamar las buenas nuevas en la gracia de Dios. Entonces, parece, como mínimo, que esta palabra “profecía” en el Nuevo Testamento “indica no solamente predecir eventos del futuro, sino comunicar la verdad religiosa en general bajo la inspiración divina”.³ Y de ese momento en adelante, el espíritu de profecía iba a quedarse, no sobre unos pocos favoritos, pero sobre los muchos, sin consideración de raza, edad, o sexo. Todo lo que podemos concluir del uso en el Nuevo Testamento de la palabra “profecía” nos guía a entender que incluye el ser testigo a Cristo, proclamar con pasión las buenas nuevas por impulso del Espíritu Santo, lo que se dió en la iglesia primitiva y se da con la misma sinceridad en los creyentes de hoy día.

Alguna gente, en verdad, previendo donde tal admisión quizás llegará, han insistido en limitar la palabra “profecía” a su sentido más limitado, de predecir por inspiración o revelación milagrosa, y han afirmado que la época de milagros ha terminado, y entonces la profecía de Joel no se puede citar como autoridad para mujeres ser testigos públicos para Cristo hoy día.

Esta forma de pensar ha sido usada muchas veces en interpretaciones similares, pero esto no ha sido satisfactorio. Cuando William Carey indicó estas palabras, “id y haced discípulos a todas las naciones,” y preguntó si no era cierto que este mando todavía era válido para la iglesia, los hermanos le respondieron: “¡No! La gran comisión fue acompañada por el milagroso regalo de lenguas; este milagro ha terminado en la iglesia, y entonces no podemos tener éxito en tal empresa a menos que Dios mande otro Pentecostés.” Pero Carey ha insistido que se puede depender todavía del poder del Espíritu, como en el principio, para llegar a cabo la gran comisión; y un siglo de misiones ha vindicado la verdad de su decisión. Cuando, hace unos años, algunos cristianos reflexivos han preguntado si la promesa, “la oración de fe salvará al enfermo” todavía está en

³ Hackett, *Acts*, 49.

vigor, los teológicos han respondido: “¡No!; esto refiere a salud milagroso; y la época de milagros termino con los apóstoles.” Y ahora se dice que la “profecía” también está en el mismo catálogo de dones milagrosos -una presencia que han terminado con los apóstoles. Es ciertamente imperativo que ellos que defienden esta perspectiva presentando alguna evidencia de su precisión de la Escritura, y que después de demandas repetidas, no lo han podido hacer, y no van a poderlo hacer. Nuestra objeción principal a esta idea es que falta reconocer la presencia perpetua del Espíritu Santo en la iglesia—una presencia que implica la presencia permanente de sus dones.

Si ahora miramos a la historia de la iglesia primitiva, encontramos la práctica que corresponde a la profecía. Por ejemplo, en el caso de Felipe, leemos: “Este tenía cuatro hijas doncellas que profetizaban” (Hch 21:9); y en conexión con la iglesia en Corinto leemos: “Pero toda mujer que ora o profetiza con la cabeza descubierta” (1 Co 11:5). Vamos a considerar aquel texto después, solamente señalo que “orando” todavía no ha sido declarado como exclusivo de la época apostólica, tal como su compañero “profecía”.

Siendo que hemos escrito brevemente de la perspectiva positiva de esta cuestión, ahora seguimos a considerar la supuesto prohibición que se hace a las mujeres de participar en las reuniones públicas de la iglesia, en los escritos de Pablo.

Examinamos, primero, el texto crucial en 1 Timoteo 2:8-11: *“Quiero, pues, que los hombres oren en todo lugar, levantando manos santas, sin ira ni contienda. Asimismo, que las mujeres se atavíen de ropa decorosa, con pudor y modestia: no con peinado ostentoso, no oro ni perlas ni vestidos costosos, sino con buenas obras, como corresponde a mujeres que practican la piedad. La mujer aprenda en silencio, con toda sujeción. No permito a la mujer enseñar, ni ejercer dominio sobre el hombre, sino estar en silencio.”*

Generalmente se ha considerado este pasaje como el más fuerte y más decisivo para el silencio de mujeres en la iglesia. Sería sorprendente, entonces, si se encontrara que verdaderamente es una exhortación para la participación bien disciplinada y en decoro de las mujeres en oración pública. Pero así es la conclusión de algunos de los mejores exégetas de la Biblia.

La mayoría están de acuerdo en que la fuerza de *Βούλομαι* (“quiero”) va del verso ocho hasta el verso nueve: “*Quiero que las mujeres.*”⁴ ¿Y, qué es lo que el apóstol quiere que las mujeres hagan? Las palabras “*asimismo*” nos sugieren una respuesta y obstaculizan otra respuesta que es muy común. ¿Indica que los hombres oren en todo lugar y las mujeres “*asimismo*” estén silenciosas? Pero, ¿dónde estaría la semejanza de comportamiento en los dos casos? ¿O la semejanza es entre los hombres “*levantando manos santas*” y las mujeres vistiéndose decorosamente con modestia? Mirando el lenguaje del autor cualquiera de estas conclusiones es tan improbable, que Alford indica que “Crisóstomo y la mayoría de comentaristas añaden *προσεύχεσθαι* (“orar”) para completar el sentido.” Si ellos tiene razón al entender así el pasaje—y si pensamos que *ώσπετως*, (“asimismo”) nos exige a este camino—entonces el significado es sin duda: “Quiero, pues, que los hombres oren en todo lugar, etc. Asimismo quiero que las mujeres oren con ropa decorosa, etc.”

En uno de lo más incisivos y claramente razonados estudios exegéticos de que estamos enterados, Wiesinger, el comentador eminentí, entiende así el pasaje, y nos parece que justifica sus conclusiones. No tenemos espacio para transferir sus argumentos a estas páginas, pero podemos en unas pocas palabras dar un resumen de ellos, mayormente en sus propias palabras. Dice:

“1. En las palabras ‘en todo lugar’ uno puede observar que esto indica que se habla de oración publica y no oración privada.

“2. Se debe añadir el verbo *προσεύχεσθαι*, ‘orar’ en el verso 9, y juntarse con ‘de ropa decorosa’; con el propósito que el mandato especial sobre el comportamiento de las mujeres en la oración corresponda al mandato para los hombres en las palabras ‘levantando manos santas.’ Este pasaje,

4 Alford.

entonces, desde el comienzo se refiere a oración; y lo que se dicen de las mujeres entre versos 9 a 10 *se debe entender como referido principalmente a la oración pública.*

“3. La transición de verso 11 de *γονῆς* a *γυνὴ* indica que el apóstol ahora indica algo nuevo—o sea, la relación de la mujer casada a su esposo. Ella debe estar en quietud, en vez de llamar la atención a si misma por su presencia pública; aprender en vez de enseñar; estar en sujeción en vez de autoridad.”

Para resumir, nuestro comentarista no encuentra evidencia en este pasaje de que a las mujeres se les prohibiera orar en las asambleas públicas de la iglesia; aunque mirando hacia atrás desde el verso doce a los versos anteriores, considera que a ellas no se les permitía enseñar en público. Este punto vamos a considerarlo después.

La interpretación que hemos dado tiene fuerte suposición en su favor, a partir de la semejanza con el pasaje que ahora vamos a considerar:

“Todo varón que ora o profetiza con la cabeza cubierta, deshonra su cabeza. Pero toda mujer que ora o profetiza con la cabeza descubierta, deshonra su cabeza, porque es lo mismo que si se hubiera rapado” (1 Co 11:4-5).

Todos están de acuerdo que la referencia aquí es a la adoración pública; y forma decorosa de participar en ella se indica primero para el hombre y entonces para la mujer. “Toda mujer que ora o profetiza.” Concluye brevemente Bengel: “*Entonces [que] a las mujeres no se les prohibían estos deberes*” es natural y razonable. Por el contrario, es muy increíble, que el apóstol se temara el trabajo de limitar una práctica que él quisiera arrancar de raíz o que dedicara esfuerzo a condenar un *método* prohibido de hacer una cosa prohibida. Este pasaje es notablemente parecido al pasaje que hemos mirado, en cuanto a que es imposible concluir que habiéndose prescrito primero en cuanto al hombre y luego en cuanto a la mujer la forma apropiada de hacer algo, entonces lo ordenado se aplique sólo para unos y prohibido para las otras. Si la frase “asimismo” ha sido un obstáculo para que los comentaristas encuentren una orden para el silencio de las mujeres en 1 Timoteo 2:9, la diferencia señalada en este pasaje no es menos difícil superar para quienes piensan que a las mujeres se les prohíbe participar en la adoración pública. Como se ha mostrado que el primer pasaje aprueba que las mujeres oren en público, también este pasaje apunta con igual firmeza a la costumbre de las mujeres tanto orando como profesando en público.

Ahora miramos al único otro pasaje que los comentaristas dicen es decisivo para el silencio de las mujeres: 1 Corintios 14:34-35: “*vuestras mujeres callen en las congregaciones, porque no les es permitido hablar, sino que deben estar sujetas, como también la Ley lo dice. Y si quieren aprender algo, pregunten en casa a sus maridos, porque es indecoroso que una mujer hable en la congregación.*”

“*Las mujeres guarden silencio en las iglesias*” (v. 34) se dice otra vez, pero es evidentemente en la condición de que ellas interrumpan el servicio con preguntas, porque se añade “porque no les es permitido hablar...y si quieren aprender algo, que pregunten a sus propios maridos en casa” (vv. 34-35 BA). Esta última cláusula indica que el mandamiento no tiene referencia al orar o profetizar e indica—lo que el capítulo entero demuestra—que el apóstol aquí trata de varias condiciones de desorden y confusión en la iglesia, no que él está prohibiendo el ejercicio decoroso de los dones espirituales de cualquiera hombre o mujer. Si estuviera prohibiendo a las mujeres orar o profetizar en público, como dicen algunos, qué sería más fuera de propósito o sin sentido que su dirección para el caso: “si quieren aprender algo, que pregunten a sus propios maridos en casa.”

Aquí, también el comportamiento de las mujeres en la iglesia se debe estudiar en relación al comportamiento de los hombres si queremos entender correctamente las enseñanzas del apóstol. Vamos a observar, entonces, que el mandato de silencio se da tres veces en este capítulo con uso de la misma palabra griega, *σιγάτω*, dos veces para los hombres y una vez para las mujeres, y que en cada caso el silencio ordenado es condicional, no absoluto. “*Guarde silencio en la iglesia*” (v. 28 BA) se

dice a alguien que habla en lenguas, pero en la condición, “si no hay interprete.” “*El primero calle*” (v. 30) se dice de uno de los profetas que hablen “dos o tres,” pero en la condición que “a otro que está sentado le es revelado algo” (v. 30).

Entonces, podemos insistir razonablemente que este texto, tanto como los otros que hemos mencionado, se deben considerar en luz de toda la enseñanza del Nuevo Testamento—la enseñanza sobre la profecía, la enseñanza sobre la práctica, y la enseñanza sobre la historia—si queremos descubrir la enseñanza verdadera.

El Dr. Jacob, en su estudio admirable, “El gobierno eclesiástico del Nuevo Testamento,” considerando el asunto según este método amplio, resume la pregunta entera: “Una debida consideración del ministerio de los dones en los primeros años de la cristiandad—esos años de alta y santificada libertad espiritual—demuestra y justifican el costumbre de la ministración pública de las mujeres en ese período en la iglesia. La base y título de este ministerio es la posesión reconocida de algún don, y esos dones son conferido a las mujeres tal como los hombres, a las primeras y a los segundos se les permitía usarlos en asambleas cristianas. *Esto me parece evidente en las palabras de Pablo en 1 Corintios 11:5, donde condena con fuerza la práctica de mujeres orando o profetizando con las cabezas descubiertas, sin encontrar objeción al ministerio público de ellas, pero solamente quejándose sobre el vestido no apropiado de las mujeres empleadas de tal manera en público.* El mandato en la misma epístola (1 Co 14:34) ‘vuestras mujeres callen,’ etc., se refiere como indica el contexto, no a la profecía u oración en la congregación, sino a hacer observaciones o preguntas sobre las palabras de otros.”

Podemos resumir, sin exceso de confianza, que no hay ninguna Escritura que prohíba a las mujeres orar o profetizar en las asambleas públicas de la iglesia; al contrario, parece que la palabra del apóstol las urgen orar (1 Ti 2:9); mientras, en referencia a la profecía, tienen las tres características de predicción inspirada (Hch 2:17), de la práctica primitiva (Hch 21:9), y de la provisión apostólica (1 Co 11:4).⁵

Sobre la posibilidad de enseñar, hay una dificultad que no es fácil resolver. Si el apóstol, en sus palabras a Timoteo, prohíbe absolutamente que una mujer enseña y exponer verdades espirituales, entonces de inmediato viene a la mente el ejemplo notable de una mujer haciendo esta misma cosa (Hechos 18:26)—un ejemplo de enseñanza privada, quizás, pero respaldado y hecho público al ser incluido en el Nuevo Testamento.

Por ese ejemplo, algunos han sostenido que la frase en 1 Timoteo 2:9, con el párrafo donde está incluida, se refiere a las relaciones domésticas de la mujer casada y no a sus relaciones públicas; que se refiere a su sujeción a la enseñanza de su esposo en vez de ella dominar en manera dogmática a su esposo. Este es la interpretación de Canon Garratt, en sus observaciones excelentes en “El Ministro de las Mujeres.” Sin embargo, la prohibición es contra la enseñanza pública; ¿que significará? Enseñar y gobernar son las funciones especiales del anciano/a. El maestro y el pastor, dos de los dones para la iglesia (Ef 4:11), Alford considera que son el mismo don; y mucha gente considera que el pastorada es igual al obispado. No hay ejemplo en el Nuevo Testamento de una mujer en la posición de obispa o maestra en una iglesia. La falta de tal ejemplo nos orienta a abstenerse de ordenar a una mujer como pastor de una congregación cristiana. Pero si el Señor ha determinado esta limitación, pensamos que está basado, no en que la mujer tenga una posición con menos privilegios de la gracia (de Dios), pero en la naturaleza misma que impide tal servicio.

Se puede decir en contra de la conclusión a la que hemos llegado sobre la posición de la mujer, que la lectura sencilla del Nuevo Testamento deja una impresión diferente en la mente. Esto puede

5 El Comentario de Meyer da resumen del caso: 1 Ti 2:8–11 no prohíbe que las mujeres oran (*προσευχεσθαι*), solamente que no enseñan (*διδάσκειν*). La misma contradicción se encuentra entre 1 Co 14:34–35 y 11:5, 13. En el primero pasillo mujeres no pueden hablar (*λαλεῖν*) pero en el último el apóstol no prohíbe, pero aun da por supuesto que mujeres lo hacen. La solución es que Pablo desea que todo en la iglesia se hace decentemente y con orden, mientras, mantiene el principio “No apaguéis al Espíritu.”

obedecer a dos razones: primero, la predisposición tradicional; y segundo, según la traducción injusta. Sobre la razón última, parece que los traductores de nuestra versiones comunes tradujeron, a cada punto donde esta cuestión ocurre, debajo la sombra del imperativo de Pablo “Vuestras mujeres callen en las congregaciones” (1 Co 14:34).

Vamos a tomar dos ilustraciones de los nombres que se encuentran en la constelación de mujeres cristianas mencionadas en Romanos 16: “Les recomiendo a nuestra hermana Febe, sirvienta (o servidora) en la iglesia de Cencrea” (v.1 King James traducido).⁶ Así, según la versión King James escribe Pablo. Pero la misma palabra *διάκονος*, aquí traducido “sirvienta” se traduce “ministro” cuando se aplica a Pablo y Apolos (1 Co 3:5 King James) y “diáconos” cuando usado para otros oficiales masculinos de la iglesia (1 Ti 3:8, 12). ¿Por qué discriminar contra Febe simplemente por ser mujer? La palabra “servidor” es correcta para el uso general no oficial de la palabra, como en San Mateo 22:10, pero si Febe era verdaderamente una oficial de la iglesia, como tenemos derecho de concluir, se le debe dar el honor que merece. Si “Febe, ministra en la iglesia de Cencrea” (Ro 16:1) parece ser demasiado atrevido, deja que la palabra sea transliterada a “Febe, diacona”—una *diacona*, sin la terminación insípida “-isa,” de esto no hay más necesidad que si dijéramos “maestra” o “doctora.” Esta enmienda “diaconisa” con timidez ha entrado al texto de la Reina Valera, de esta manera añadiendo prejuicio a la vista por la asociación que este nombre (“diaconisa”) tiene en la Alta Iglesia – cofradía de mujeres y órdenes. ¡Es maravilloso tanto que hay en un nombre! “Febe, una servidora,” quizás sugiere a un lector ordinario nada más que una esclava moderna de la iglesia, que prepara sándwiches y café para la reunión social en la iglesia. Según Canon Garratt, con su afable e iluminado perspectiva de la posición de la mujer en tiempos apostólicos, “Febe, diacona,” sugiere una colaboradora útil de Pablo, “viajando en trabajo misionero y otro trabajos de amor.”

Otra vez, leemos en el mismo capítulo de Romanos, “Saludad a Priscila y a Aquila, mis colaboradores en Cristo Jesús” (Ro 16:3). Nótese el orden aquí: el nombre de la mujer puesto primero, como en otros lugares (Hch 18:18; 2 Ti 4:19). Pero cuando leemos el pasaje sugestivo en Hechos 18:26 encontramos que el orden está a revés, y el nombre del hombre puesto primero: “pero cuando lo oyeron Aquila y Priscila, lo llevaron aparte y le explicaron más exactamente el camino de Dios” (King James). Pero este orden es erróneo, según los manuscritos mejores. Según algún amanuense o critico la pregunta alarmante se presentó: “No es que Pablo dijo, ‘No permito a la mujer enseñar ni ejercer dominio sobre el hombre’ pero aquí una mujer en realidad toma la cabeza como maestra teológica de Apolos, un ministro distinguido del evangelio, y hasta usando su autoridad para decirle que él no está calificado completamente para su trabajo! ¡Esto no puede ser! Si la mujer no puede callarse, por lo menos debe estar en segundo plano.” Entonces el orden fue cambiado, y el nombre del hombre se quedó primero para muchas generaciones de lectores. La Reina-Valera ha arreglado el error, y el nombre de la mujer ahora está primero.

Pero, ¡qué natural es esta narración, y que perfectamente conforme a la historia cristiana subsecuente! Podemos imaginar fácilmente que, después de oír a este orador de Alejandría, Priscila decía a su esposo: “Si, él es elocuente y conoce muy bien las Escrituras; ¿pero no ves que le falta el secreto del poder?” Entonces lo llevaron y le explicaron el bautismo del Espíritu Santo, con el resultado de que quien antes conocía bien las Escrituras ahora “con poder convencía los judíos.” Cuantas veces esta escena se reproduce; por ejemplo, en el caso de Caterina de Siena dando instrucción sobre las cosas del Espíritu a los clérigos depravados de su día hasta que exclamaron: “Nunca hombre habló como esta mujer”; de Madame Guyon, quien por su enseñanza hizo hombres nuevos de muchos predicadores hábiles pero no espirituales en su tiempo; de la mujer humilde de quien el evangelista Moody dice, que después de oír algunos de sus primeros sermones, lo exhortó sobre su necesidad del secreto de poder, y lo puso bajo obligación indecible al haber le

6 “Diaconisa” en RV 95 con nota “en tiempos de Pablo probablemente se usaba en un sentido más general,” no un “cargo específico de la iglesia.”

enseñado sobre el mismo. Es evidente que el Espíritu Santo hizo que Priscila fuera una maestra de maestros, y que su cátedra teológica ha tenido muchos beneficiados meritorios en las subsecuentes épocas cristianas.

Para seguir aún más la lista de trabajadoras mujeres mencionadas en Romanos 16, leemos: “Saluden a Trifena y a Trifosa, que trabajan en la obra del Señor; y también a nuestra querida hermana Pérsida, que tanto ha trabajado en la obra del Señor” (verso 12 Dhh). ¿Qué es la obra *del Señor* que ellas hicieron tan meritoriamente? Añada a esta citación otra: “ayudes a estas que combatieron juntamente conmigo en el evangelio” (Flp 4:3). ¿Es que “combatieron en el evangelio” con una limitación que no podían predicar el evangelio? ¿Es que “lucharon en el Señor” pero no podían dar testimonio público para el Señor? “¡Ah! Pero tenemos esa palabra de Pablo a Timoteo, “Las mujeres deben aprender en silencio,” dice el abogado. ¡No! No está allí. Otra vez vamos a quejarnos de una traducción injusta. Correctamente la Nueva Versión Internacional traduce: “La mujer debe aprender con serenidad” (*ἡσυχία*), una advertencia no inconsistente con orar decorosamente y atestiguar en las asambleas cristianas. Cuando *hombres* son reprendidos, los traductores dan la traducción correcta a la misma palabra: “que trabajen *tranquilamente* para ganarse la vida” (2 Tes 3:12 Dhh), un mandato que ningún lector entendería como que ellos no deben hablar cuando trabajan y comen.

Siendo que una mujer está incluida como diacona en este capítulo (Ro 16), entonces es más que probable que una está mencionada entre los apóstoles. “Saluden a mis paisanos Andrónico y Junias, que fueron mis compañeros de cárcel; se han distinguido entre los apóstoles, y se hicieron creyentes en Cristo antes que yo” (v. 7 Dhh). ¿Es Junia un nombre femenino? Así pensaba la mayoría de gente. Pero, siendo que está conectado con *ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις*, ha inducido a algunos a concluir que Junias es el nombre de un hombre. Esto no es posible. Pero Crisóstomo, quien, como Padre Griego, se debe tomar como autoridad importante, hace esta observación franca y inequívoca sobre este pasaje: “*¡Qué grande es la devoción de esta mujer, que ella es digna del nombre de apóstol!*”

Estas son ilustraciones que se pueden aumentar bastante, de la sombra que la presumida ley de silencio de Pablo para mujeres ha echado sobre el trabajo de los traductores primitivos—una sombra que aun se ha echado sobre el Antiguo Testamento; para que leemos en la Versión Común: El Señor dio un mensaje; mucha era la compañía que lo anunciaba (Sal 68:11), pero la Reina Valera indica correctamente: “El Señor daba la palabra, multitud de mujeres anunciaba las buenas nuevas.”

Tenemos razón o no en nuestras conclusiones generales, hay principios muy interesantes sugeridos por este tema: especialmente, el valor de la experiencia como intérprete de la Escritura. La exégesis final no se encuentra siempre en el diccionario y la gramática. El Espíritu está en la Palabra; y el Espíritu está también en la Iglesia, el cuerpo de creyentes regenerados y santificados. Seguir la voz de la Iglesia aparte de la Palabra escrita nunca ha sido seguro; pero, por otra parte, posiblemente necesitamos ser amonestados a no desatender la enseñanza de la vida espiritual más profunda de la Iglesia al formar nuestras conclusiones con respecto al sentido de la Escritura. No se puede negar que cada gran avivamiento espiritual en la historia del protestantismo el ímpetu de las mujeres cristianas a orar y atestiguar para Cristo en la asamblea pública ha sido indomable. Fue así en el inicio de la Sociedad de Amigos. Fue así en el despertamiento evangélico asociado con los nombres de Wesley y Whitefield. Fue así en poderoso renacimiento del Metodismo primitivo conocido como el Ejército de Salvación. Ha sido aumentando en esta época de misiones modernas y evangelismo moderno en que vivimos.

Observando este hecho, y observando también las bendiciones grandes que han asistido el ministerio de mujeres consagradas a la proclamación el Evangelio, muchos hombres pensantes han sido dirigidos a examinar la Palabra de Dios de nuevo, para aprender si es verdaderamente cierto que las Escrituras imponen silencio al testimonio que el Espíritu bendice tanto. Para mucha gente ha sido tanto un alivio como una sorpresa descubrir cuán poca autoridad hay en la Palabra

para reprimir el testimonio de las mujeres en la asamblea pública, o para prohibirles proclama el Evangelio a los que no son salvos. Si esto es así, será bueno para los demandantes en este caso precaverse, no sea que al imponer silencio a la voz de mujeres consagradas, quizás se opongan al Espíritu Santo. La conjunción de estos dos mandatos del apóstol es significante: “No apaguen el Espíritu, no desprecien las profecías” (1 Tes 5:19–20 NVI).

El famoso Eduardo Irving habla así directamente sobre este sujeto: “Quien soy yo que deba despreciar el don de Dios, porque está en una mujer, a quien el Espíritu Santo no desprecia?... Que las mujeres tienen con los hombres una distribución igual de dones espirituales es manifiesto no sólo por el hecho (Hch 2; 18:26; 21:9; 1 Co 11:3, etcétera), sino por las mismas palabras de la profecía de Joel, que posiblemente reprenden a esa gente vanidas y sin pensamiento que no pagan atención al trabajo del Señor, porque ese trabajo aparece entre mujeres. *Deseo que hombres mismos se sujetan a la Palabra de Dios, antes que dominan los derechos iguales de mujeres en la gran efusión del Espíritu*” (Works, v. 555).

Como se requiere, preferimos renunciar a toda apelación a la razón y el sentimiento para resolver la pregunta, y apoyarnos solamente en una interpretación literal de la Escritura. Pero no nos podemos abstener de preguntar si la intuición espiritual de la Iglesia no ha sido más avanzada que su exégesis sobre este tema. No nos vamos a referir a la práctica predominante en muchas de nuestras iglesias más espirituales y evangélicas, pero si vamos a mencionar algunos ejemplos públicos.

La excursión misionera al Tíbet de Anna Taylor ha sido sujeto mencionado en todo el mundo. Y ahora ella regresa a ese campo inmenso y peligroso con una compañía considerable de reclutas misioneros, ambos hombres y mujeres, ella misma el líder de la expedición. En esta empresa de llevar el Evangelio a las regiones más lejanas, y proclamar a Cristo a todas las clases sociales, ella es tan completamente una misionera como lo fueron Pablo o Columba o Bonifacio. Aun en todos los comentarios de la prensa religiosa nunca hemos oído la pregunta de si, en actuando así, ella no está incursionando afuera de la esfera de la mujer según lo definido en la Escritura.

Cuando el Secretario Murdock describió, frente de la Conferencia Misionera de Exeter Hall en 1888, el trabajo de la Señora Ingalls, en Birmania, declaró que, aunque no había asumido cargos eclesiásticos, aun a fuerza de carácter por una parte, y por las necesidades del campo por otra parte, ella tenía que trabajar como obispo sobre muchas iglesias, entrenando a los ministros nativos en teología y homiletica, guiando las iglesias en la selección de pastores, y dirigiendo la disciplina de las congregaciones, la historia evocó solamente aplauso, sin murmullo de disensión del distinguido cuerpo de líderes misioneros que lo oyeron.

Cuando en esa misma conferencia, el representante de la Misión Karen no llegó, preguntaron si había misionero presente que podía hablar sobre ese trabajo notable, la respuesta era, “Solo uno, y ella es mujer.” La aceptaron sin vacilar como orador; y aunque al principio recatada, al final consintió, y tuvo el honor de hablar a quizás lo más notable asamblea de líderes misioneros convocados en este siglo. Los tonos claros e inequívocos con que la Señora Armstrong explicó su narrativa no sugirió “silencio”; pero la moderación y reserva de su parte estaban de acuerdo con el requisito de la Escritura de “tranquilidad.” Y aunque ella tenía en su audiencia secretarios misioneros, obispos Episcopales, profesores de Oxford, y teólogos de Edinburgh, no había objeción visible ninguno a su ministerio.

Recordamos gráficamente, en los primeros días primitivos del trabajo de la mujer en el campo extranjero, como esa misionera brillante a China, la señorita Adele Fielde, fue revocada por su junta por las quejas repetidas de los misioneros mayores de que en su trabajo excedió su esfera como mujer. “Nos han informado que usted ha decidido predicar,” fue el cargo leído por el presidente: “¿Es cierto?”

Ella respondió describiendo el campo inmenso e indigente que tenía—pueblocito tras pueblocito, caserío tras caserío, no alcanzados por el Evangelio—y entonces como, con una mujer nativa, había viajado en el campo alrededor, reuniendo grupos de hombres, mujeres, y jóvenes—quienquiera que viniera—y les contó la historia de la cruz. “Si esto es predicar, me confieso culpable” dijo. “¿Y a usted ha sido ordenada para predicar?” le pregunta el examinador. “No,” ella respondió, con gran dignidad y énfasis—“no; pero creo que he sido ordenada de antemano.” ¡Ah, mujer! Has contestado discretamente; y si, cualquier pide por sus credenciales de ordenación de antemano, indique las palabras del profeta: “vuestros hijos y vuestras hijas profetizarán,” y la Iglesia entera votará enviarte otra vez sin estorbos a su trabajo, como lo hizo la junta en este caso.

¡Qué lentos somos para entender lo que está escrito! Simón Pedro, quien en el Día de Pentecostés mencionó la gran profecía de la dispensación nueva, y anunció que su cumplimiento había comenzado, que tan atrapado estaba por la tradición que le tomó una visión especial de una sábana bajando del cielo para convencerlo de que en el cuerpo de Cristo “no puede ser judío o griego.” Y se nos exige otra visión de una multitud de mujeres misioneras, bajadas por el Espíritu Santo entre los paganos, y proclamando el Evangelio a cada tribu y parentesco y pueblo, para convencernos de que en ese mismo cuerpo “no hay hombre ni mujer.” Es evidente, comoquiera, que este espectáculo extraordinario de mujeres que ministran ha traído dudas a algunos hombres conservadores sobre “qué va a pasar esto.” Pero como creyentes en la palabra segura de la profecía, todo ha pasado precisamente según el modelo ordenado antemano, del primer capítulo de la nueva dispensación, cuando en el piso alto de la casa “todos ellos se reunían siempre para orar con los hermanos de Jesús, con María su madre y *con las otras mujeres*” (Hch 1:14), hasta el último capítulo, ahora cumplido, cuando “las mujeres que proclamen el mensaje son un multitud.”

La economía nueva no es como la vieja: y los acusados en este caso no tienen que apelar a los ejemplos de María y Débora y Hulda, y Ana la profeta. Estas eran ejemplos excepcionales bajo la antigua dispensación; pero aquella que es la más pequeña en el reino de los cielos es más grande que ellas. Y permitir que los teólogos quienes han escrito recientemente tan dogmáticamente sobre este tema consideren si será posible que en este asunto todavía están bajo de la ley y no debajo de la gracia: y si, a la vista de la tierra prometida de evangelización mundial, no podrán oír la voz de Dios diciendo: “Moisés, mi servidor, ha muerto; ahora, pues, levántate y pasa este Jordán.”

Comentario por la Doctora Aída Besançon Spencer

La Doctora Aída Besançon Spencer es Profesora del Nuevo Testamento en el Seminario Teológico Gordon-Conwell, Massachusetts, Estados Unidos. El Instituto Misionario de Boston fue fundado por Adoniram Judson Gordon (el primer presidente, 1889-95) para el evangelismo mundial por tanto mujeres como hombres. Su esposa, Maria Hale Gordon, era activa en la escuela hasta 1914, y también era secretaria y tesora de la escuela (1889-1908).

Hace casi 30 años que escribí *Mas Allá de la Maldición* (1985). Pero recuerdo que muchas veces he leído y oído que la liberación de la mujer en la iglesia es solo algo después de los 1970s, imitando el mundo secular. Pero este artículo escrito en 1894, hace mas de 120 años, nos indica que la liberación de la mujer en la iglesia no es asunto de este siglo. Mientras traducía “El Ministerio de la Mujer,” me di cuenta de tantas ideas que tenía el Doctor A. J. Gordon que para nosotros parecía nuevo:

- Vivimos en una dispensación de gracia del Espíritu que es diferente a la dispensación de la ley;
- La importancia de ciertos pasajes como Joel 2:17-24 y Gálatas 3:28;
- La semejanza entre el gentil y la mujer;
- En la época del Espíritu todavía hay milagros;
- Tenemos ejemplos de mujeres predicando en el Nuevo y el Antiguo Testamentos, como las hijas de Felipe, las mujeres en Corinto, Trifena y Trifosa, Priscila, Junia, María, Débora, Hulda, y Ana;
- 1 Timoteo 2:9-10 indica que mujeres deben orar en la iglesia tanto como los hombres;
- El silencio que manda San Pablo en 1 Corintios 14 es condicional, no absoluto, para tres grupos diferentes;
- No es posible que 1 Corintios 14 contradiga 1 Corintios 11, ni que 1 Timoteo 2:11-14 contradiga Hechos 18:26;
- Muchas veces no se entiende bien trazos sobre la mujer por perspectiva tradicional que afecta la traducción de la Biblia, cuando traductores traducen todo debajo del principio “las mujeres deben guardar silencio en las iglesias”;
- Febe es “ministra” o “diacona,” no “diaconisa” o simplemente “servidora” de la iglesia de Cencrea (Ro 16);
- Hay significación en el nombre de Priscila precediendo el nombre de Aquila;
- Priscila con Aquila enseñó a Apolos;
- Hay muchos ejemplos en la historia de mujeres que enseñaban bien y predicaban a los hombres en la iglesia, como Catarina de Siena, Madame Guyon, la mujer que enseñó a Moody, Annie Taylor, Sra. Ingalls, Sra. Armstrong, Señorita Adele Fielder;
- Se debe traducir 1 Ti 2:11-12 en vez de “aprender en silencio” igual a 2 Tes 3:12, “aprender en tranquilidad”;
- Junia en Ro 16:7 es una mujer, no hombre. Crisóstomo lo indica;
- Salmo 68:11 indica que mujeres predicaban y predicarán;
- Hay veces que la presencia del Espíritu en la iglesia nos ayuda a entender la Biblia;
- En tiempos de avivamiento en la iglesia las mujeres oran y predicen en la asamblea pública de la iglesia y en misiones mundiales;
- Entonces, resistir la voz de mujeres consagradas es resistir el Espíritu Santo:

- La iglesia muchas veces da más libertad a las mujeres en trabajo extranjero misionero que en sus propias iglesias. Pero si entendemos bien la interpretación de las Escrituras según una perspectiva literal, no tradicional, tendremos mujeres, como hombres, para el evangelismo mundial.

English translation of Commentary by Dr. Aída Besançon Spencer

Dr. Aída Besançon Spencer is Professor of New Testament at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary. The Boston Missionary Institute was founded by Adoniram Judson Gordon (the first president, 1889-95) for world-wide evangelism by women as well as men. His wife, Maria Hale Gordon, was active in the school until 1914, including being the secretary and treasurer of the school (1889-1908).

Thirty years ago I wrote *Beyond the Curse: Women Called to Ministry* (1985). Many times I have read and heard that the liberation of women in the church is a concept that began in the 1970s, imitating secular feminism. But Gordon's article written in 1894, over 120 years ago, reminds us that the liberation of women in the church is not a matter of the 1970s. While I was translating "The Ministry of Women," I noticed many ideas that Doctor A. J. Gordon had that appeared brand new for us in the late 1900s and early 2000s:

- We live in the dispensation of grace of the Spirit which is different from the dispensation of the law;
- The importance of certain passages such as Joel 2:17-24 and Galatians 3:28;
- The similarity between the Gentile and the woman;
- In the era of the Spirit we still have miracles;
- We have examples of women proclaiming in the New and the Old Testaments, such as the daughters of Philip, the women in Corinth, Tryphena and Tryphosa, Priscilla, Junia, Mary, Deborah, Huldah, and Anna;
- 1 Timothy 2:9-10 indicates that women should pray in the church as also did the men;
- The silence that Paul commands in 1 Corinthians 14 is conditional, not absolute, for three different groups;
- Many times passages about women are misinterpreted because a traditional perspective affects the translation, when translators translated on the basis of the principle "women should be silent in the churches";
- Phoebe is a "minister" or "deacon," not a "deaconess" or simply "servant" in the church of Cenchrea (Rom 16);
- It is significant that Priscilla's name precedes Aquila's name;
- Priscilla with Aquila taught Apollos;
- History provides many examples of women who taught men well and preached to men in the church, such as Catherine of Siena, Madame Guyon, the woman who taught Moody, Annie Taylor, Mrs. Ingalls, Mrs. Armstrong, Miss Adele Field;
- We should translate 1 Timothy 2:11-12, instead of "learn in silence," the same as 2 Thessalonians 3:12, "learn in tranquility";
- Junia in Romans 16:7 is a woman, not a man. Chrysostom indicated this;
- Psalm 68:11 indicates that women preached and will preach;
- There are times when the presence of the Spirit in the church helps us understand the Bible;
- In times of revival in the church women pray and preach in the public assembly of the

church and in world-wide missions;

- Thus, to resist the voice of consecrated women is to resist the Holy Spirit;
- The church many times gives more liberty to women in missionary work than in the women's own sending congregations. However, if we interpret the Scriptures according to a literal perspective, not a traditional one, we will have women, as well as men, for world-wide evangelism.

Your Daughters Shall Prophesy? How Institutionalization Affected Women at Gordon

AÍDA BESANÇON SPENCER

Janette Hassey demonstrates in *No Time for Silence: Evangelical Women in Public Ministry around the Turn of the Century* (1986) that after World War I “as Fundamentalism increasingly institutionalized, women were squeezed out of leadership roles.” Slowly, also, “professional, seminary-trained clergy” replaced “charismatic lay ministry.” Bible institutes had been “the key educational structures to prepare turn-of-the-century Evangelical women for public ministry.”¹ All of these forces were evident even in Adoniram Judson and Maria Gordon’s own Boston Missionary Institute which eventually developed into Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary and Gordon College.² A. J. Gordon began the Institute in 1889 because of his passion for world-wide missions, in particular for the Congo.³ H. Grattan Guinness offered the Congo Mission to the American Baptist Missionary Union, of which A. J. Gordon was a member and later chair. But few people still went to the Congo Mission to help out. Guinness suggested that Gordon begin an institute such as Guinness had in London.⁴ A few weeks before his death A. J. Gordon shared that “there were days when we were nearly broken-hearted over the perils of our Congo mission; and in the darkest days our missionary training school was started to prepare humble lay workers or anybody who felt the call, to go...scores of young men and women...have proved that they can go into these communities.”⁵ The School’s song was “We’re going to take the Congo for Jesus!”⁶ Missions were an urgent matter, to save everyone for the one living triune God. The goal was to train students (“those whom God might call to fill some of the unoccupied places in the wide harvest fields”) in the study of the Bible and in practice as Christians. The only text-book was the Bible. The only bond was the Spirit.⁷

When the Institute was started, many couples became active in leadership in the school, working together as teachers and administrators to promote God’s reign. The first administration and faculty included A. J. Gordon as president. His wife Maria Hale Gordon was secretary and later treasurer, and teacher of chapter studies of the Old Testament, Synthetic Bible Study, practice in Bible reading, and supervisor of the Carey Home for female students. She was active with the school over twenty years, until 1914.⁸ Both Gordons have written of their support for women in ministry.⁹ The Chapells also served together. F. L. Chapell was the resident instructor teaching three-fifths of the courses. Also teaching and administrating were M. R. Deming (supervisor of the home for male students), Charles Perkins (treasurer for the first two years) and James Gray. Even after A. J. Gordon’s death, women continued to join the men in leadership capacities in the school. For example, in 1901, Mrs. Gray taught classes in Biblical Introduction and Christian Evidences while Mr. Gray taught Bible study. Dr. Julia Morton Plummer lectured on Practical Physiology and

1 Janette Hassey, *No Time for Silence: Evangelical Women in Public Ministry around the Turn of the Century* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986), 137, 139.

2 Nathan R. Wood, *A School of Christ* (Boston: Gordon College of Theology and Missions, 1953), 19, 26, 110-111.

3 Wood, *School*, 19, 23-24, 29.

4 Wood, *School*, 8, 11-12.

5 Wood, *School*, 29.

6 Wood, *School*, 20.

7 Wood, *School*, 16. According to N. R. Wood, “the redeeming, risen and coming Christ was the Leader of the School; the Spirit and the Bible were working for him through us all.” The name “Gordon” stood for “spiritual life, Biblical loyalty and missionary vision” (*Wood, School*, 56, 73).

8 Wood, *School*, 33-34.

9 A. J. Gordon, “The Ministry of Women,” *The Missionary Review of the World* VII.12 (December 1894): 910-921; Maria Hale Gordon, “Women as Evangelists,” *Northfield Echoes* 1 (1894): 147-152, reprinted in Hassey, *Silence*, 157-161.

Hygiene, Miss Blanch Tilton taught vocal and instrumental evangelistic singing, while Dr. Emory Hunt was the president, Dr. John McElwain the superintendent, and Dr. J. D. Herr the dean.¹⁰

The school was open to whoever felt a call to go into missions: “for young men and women who have heard the call of God to engage in Christian service, but who, from age or other reasons, cannot pursue an academic or collegiate course.”¹¹ Although the school first attracted more men than women (20 men, 10 women in 1889; 23 men, 19 women in 1890), after a while, more women than men attended. By 1905, 1907, 1908, more women graduated than men (3 men, 7 women in 1905; 4 men, 7 women in 1907; 4 men, 8 women in 1908).¹² During the first decade, a considerable part of the enrolment was the number of women. Professor F. L. Chapell remembered that some even suggested that the school “should be a ladies’ School entirely. But we have not as yet turned the gentlemen away, although as might be expected they have since been in the minority rather than in the majority.”¹³

After A.J. Gordon died in 1895, the name was changed to “Gordon” to honor his original vision for the school, The Gordon Bible and Missionary Training School. “Bible” was added to communicate that the study of the Bible was the primary training but also to indicate that some of the students were going into work in the United States, not abroad. The professors were surprised to discover that fifty men had gone into the pastorate because the original vision was that students would go into the mission field.¹⁴ Eventually, this change of perspective affected the welcoming of women into the school.

Even though Nathan R. Wood as President worked together with his wife, Isabel Warwick Wood as Dean,¹⁵ and Nathan Wood even presided over women’s ordination services,¹⁶ during their era (in 1930), they limited the number of women who could attend the school to one-third in order to allow more men to attend: “the constantly increasing percentage of men in the student membership made possible a vote of the Trustees that from that time not more women students should be admitted in any year than would bring the number of such students to one-third of the total enrolment.” They assumed that the graduate theological course, to be called the Divinity School, would always have “a large majority” of male students.¹⁷ This limitation was not removed from the graduate school, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, until the 1980s after I began to teach, over fifty years later. When Gordon and Conwell combined in 1969 until I began to teach in 1982 (13 years later) the school had no full-time female professors, even though both Gordon and Conwell had had female Greek teachers before the union.¹⁸ It took a decade (1993) for a second female professor to begin teaching (Dr. Gwenfair Walters Adams). As an institution, Gordon-Conwell was open to women teaching, but, when the two schools joined together, the administrators appear not to have made an effort to include some of the previous female teachers. Part of the difficulty in institutionalization is the requiring of doctorates for the teachers, which was not necessary in the early years. Also, as the focus switched from mission abroad to mission at home, churches expected professional, seminary-trained clergy in the United States. At the school, professors were divided over whether to emphasize the training of those who felt a call, similar

10 Wood, *School*, 12, 14-16, 19, 25-26, 31, 33-35, 50, 120. “Gordon Bible College” (1916) was “the first theological and missionary college” in America (Wood, *School*, 100-102).

11 Wood, *School*, 17-18. In contrast, women were at first excluded from Dallas Seminary when it began in 1924 (Hassey, *Silence*, 139).

12 Wood, *School*, 16, 35. In 1912, the men equaled the women in number. In 1915, 50% of the students were men preparing for ministry (Wood, *School*, 59, 68).

13 Wood, *School*, 27.

14 Wood, *School*, 26-28.

15 Wood, *School*, 151, 193-194, 197, 201.

16 Hassey, *Silence*, 67.

17 Wood, *School*, 155, 169, 193-194. In 1944, during the War, Wood writes, “restricted attendance, and the limiting of women students to one-half the number of men” were dropped (198, 204).

18 For example, Rev. Pamela J. Cole at the Wenham and Hamilton campuses of Gordon Divinity School.

to the Bible Institute's original mission, to the training of those who were most academically qualified.¹⁹ The latter philosophy at first would limit the number of women students.

Thus, even an institution originally committed to women in ministry can be sidetracked. However, at this time, in 2016, Gordon-Conwell has a number of female full-time faculty, about 20 percent of the total full-time faculty, most of the women are in the Biblical Studies Division (5 of 8). Since Gordon-Conwell is an interdenominational or multidenominational school,²⁰ not every faculty member is committed to women leaders in the church, but all are asked to commit themselves to helping all women as well as men pursue God's call in their lives.

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19 This change occurred slowly as admissions requirements became more stringent. Ironically, making the admissions requirements more stringent encouraged more students to apply! Wood, *School*, 58-59, 68.

20 Originally, the school was mainly Baptist, but, because of the hospitality of a Presbyterian Church, it became "interdenominational" officially in 1914 and more completely in 1945 (Wood, *School*, 57-58, 106-107, 111-113, 137, 163-164, 195, 199-201).

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2 TIMOTHY and TITUS

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Acres of Diamonds¹

RUSSELL H. CONWELL

Founder and first president of Temple University, Russell H. Conwell was a schoolmaster, lawyer, American Baptist minister, organizer, philanthropist, thinker and writer, lecturer, educator, diplomat, and leader who made his mark on Philadelphia and Pennsylvania and the times in which he lived (1843-1925). His ideas, ideals, and enthusiasms have inspired tens of thousands of lives.

Friends.—This lecture has been delivered under these circumstances: I visit a town or city, and try to arrive there early enough to see the postmaster, the barber, the keeper of the hotel, the principal of the schools, and the ministers of some of the churches, and then go into some of the factories and stores, and talk with the people, and get into sympathy with the local conditions of that town or city and see what has been their history, what opportunities they had, and what they had failed to do—and every town fails to do something—and then go to the lecture and talk to those people about the subjects which applied to their locality. “Acres of Diamonds”—the idea—has continuously been precisely the same. The idea is that in this country of ours every man has the opportunity to make more of himself than he does in his own environment, with his own skill, with his own energy, and with his own friends. RUSSELL H. CONWELL.

WHEN going down the Tigris and Euphrates rivers many years ago with a party of English travelers, I found myself under the direction of an old Arab guide whom we hired up at Bagdad, and I have often thought how that guide resembled our barbers in certain mental characteristics. He thought that it was not only his duty to guide us down those rivers, and do what he was paid for doing, but also to entertain us with stories curious and weird, ancient and modern, strange and familiar. Many of them I have forgotten, and I am glad I have, but there is one I shall never forget.

The old guide was leading my camel by its halter along the banks of those ancient rivers, and he told me story after story until I grew weary of his story-telling and ceased to listen. I have never been irritated with that guide when he lost his temper as I ceased listening. But I remember that he took off his Turkish cap and swung it in a circle to get my attention. I could see it through the corner of my eye, but I determined not to look straight at him for fear he would tell another story. But although I am not a woman, I did finally look, and as soon as I did he went right into another story.

Said he, “I will tell you a story now which I reserve for my particular friends.” When he emphasized the words “particular friends,” I listened, and I have ever been glad I did. I really feel devoutly thankful, that there are 1,674 young men who have been carried through college by this lecture who are also glad that I did listen. The old guide told me that there once lived not far from the River Indus an ancient Persian by the name of Ali Hafed. He said that Ali Hafed owned a very large farm, that he had orchards, grain-fields, and gardens; that he had money at interest, and was a wealthy and contented man. He was contented because he was wealthy, and wealthy because he was contented. One day there visited that old Persian farmer one of these ancient Buddhist priests, one of the wise men of the East. He sat down by the fire and told the old farmer how this world of ours was made. He said that this world was once a mere bank of fog, and that the Almighty thrust His finger into this bank of fog, and began slowly to move His finger around, increasing the speed until at last He whirled this bank of fog into a solid ball of fire. Then it went rolling through the universe, burning its way through other banks of fog, and condensed the moisture without, until it fell in floods of rain upon its hot surface, and cooled the outward crust. Then the internal fires

1 *Acres of Diamonds* by Russell H. Conwell is reproduced from online The Project Gutenberg [EBook #368] produced by Charles Keller and David Widger, accessed 26 August 2014, www.gutenberg.org.

bursting outward through the crust threw up the mountains and hills, the valleys, the plains and prairies of this wonderful world of ours. If this internal molten mass came bursting out and cooled very quickly, it became granite; less quickly copper, less quickly silver, less quickly gold, and, after gold, diamonds were made.

Said the old priest, "A diamond is a congealed drop of sunlight." Now that is literally scientifically true, that a diamond is an actual deposit of carbon from the sun. The old priest told Ali Hafed that if he had one diamond the size of his thumb he could purchase the county, and if he had a mine of diamonds he could place his children upon thrones through the influence of their great wealth.

Ali Hafed heard all about diamonds, how much they were worth, and went to his bed that night a poor man. He had not lost anything, but he was poor because he was discontented, and discontented because he feared he was poor. He said, "I want a mine of diamonds," and he lay awake all night.

Early in the morning he sought out the priest. I know by experience that a priest is very cross when awakened early in the morning, and, when he shook that old priest out of his dreams, Ali Hafed said to him:

"Will you tell me where I can find diamonds?"

"Diamonds! What do you want with diamonds?" "Why, I wish to be immensely rich." "Well, then, go along and find them. That is all you have to do; go and find them, and then you have them." "But I don't know where to go." "Well, if you will find a river that runs through white sands, between high mountains, in those white sands you will always find diamonds." "I don't believe there is any such river." "Oh yes, there are plenty of them. All you have to do is to go and find them, and then you have them." Said Ali Hafed, "I will go."

So he sold his farm, collected his money, left his family in charge of a neighbor, and away he went in search of diamonds. He began his search, very properly to my mind, at the Mountains of the Moon. Afterward he came around into Palestine, then wandered on into Europe, and at last, when his money was all spent and he was in rags, wretchedness, and poverty, he stood on the shore of that bay at Barcelona, in Spain, when a great tidal wave came rolling in between the pillars of Hercules, and the poor, afflicted, suffering, dying man could not resist the awful temptation to cast himself into that incoming tide, and he sank beneath its foaming crest, never to rise in this life again.

When that old guide had told me that awfully sad story, he stopped the camel I was riding on and went back to fix the baggage that was coming off another camel, and I had an opportunity to muse over his story while he was gone. I remember saying to myself, "Why did he reserve that story for his 'particular friends'?" There seemed to be no beginning, no middle, no end, nothing to it. That was the first story I had ever heard told in my life, and would be the first one I ever read, in which the hero was killed in the first chapter. I had but one chapter of that story, and the hero was dead.

When the guide came back and took up the halter of my camel, he went right ahead with the story, into the second chapter, just as though there had been no break. The man who purchased Ali Hafed's farm one day led his camel into the garden to drink, and as that camel put its nose into the shallow water of that garden brook, Ali Hafed's successor noticed a curious flash of light from the white sands of the stream. He pulled out a black stone having an eye of light reflecting all the hues of the rainbow. He took the pebble into the house and put it on the mantel which covers the central fires, and forgot all about it.

A few days later this same old priest came in to visit Ali Hafed's successor, and the moment he opened that drawing-room door he saw that flash of light on the mantel, and he rushed up to it,

and shouted: "Here is a diamond! Has Ali Hafed returned?" "Oh no, Ali Hafed has not returned, and that is not a diamond. That is nothing but a stone we found right out here in our own garden." "But," said the priest, "I tell you I know a diamond when I see it. I know positively that is a diamond."

Then together they rushed out into that old garden and stirred up the white sands with their fingers, and lo! there came up other more beautiful and valuable gems than the first. "Thus," said the guide to me, and, friends, it is historically true, "was discovered the diamond-mine of Golconda, the most magnificent diamond-mine in all the history of mankind, excelling the Kimberly itself. The Kohinoor, and the Orloff of the crown jewels of England and Russia, the largest on earth, came from that mine."

When that old Arab guide told me the second chapter of his story, he then took off his Turkish cap and swung it around in the air again to get my attention to the moral. Those Arab guides have morals to their stories, although they are not always moral. As he swung his hat, he said to me, "Had Ali Hafed remained at home and dug in his own cellar, or underneath his own wheat-fields, or in his own garden, instead of wretchedness, starvation, and death by suicide in a strange land, he would have had 'acres of diamonds.' For every acre of that old farm, yes, every shovelful, afterward revealed gems which since have decorated the crowns of monarchs."

When he had added the moral to his story, I saw why he reserved it for "his particular friends." But I did not tell him I could see it. It was that mean old Arab's way of going around a thing like a lawyer, to say indirectly what he did not dare say directly, that "in his private opinion there was a certain young man then traveling down the Tigris River that might better be at home in America." I did not tell him I could see that, but I told him his story reminded me of one, and I told it to him quick, and I think I will tell it to you.

I told him of a man out in California in 1847 who owned a ranch. He heard they had discovered gold in southern California, and so with a passion for gold he sold his ranch to Colonel Sutter, and away he went, never to come back. Colonel Sutter put a mill upon a stream that ran through that ranch, and one day his little girl brought some wet sand from the raceway into their home and sifted it through her fingers before the fire, and in that falling sand a visitor saw the first shining scales of real gold that were ever discovered in California. The man who had owned that ranch wanted gold, and he could have secured it for the mere taking. Indeed, thirty-eight millions of dollars has been taken out of a very few acres since then. About eight years ago I delivered this lecture in a city that stands on that farm, and they told me that a one-third owner for years and years had been getting one hundred and twenty dollars in gold every fifteen minutes, sleeping or waking, without taxation. You and I would enjoy an income like that—if we didn't have to pay an income tax.

But a better illustration really than that occurred here in our own Pennsylvania. If there is anything I enjoy above another on the platform, it is to get one of these German audiences in Pennsylvania before me, and fire that at them, and I enjoy it to-night. There was a man living in Pennsylvania, not unlike some Pennsylvanians you have seen, who owned a farm, and he did with that farm just what I should do with a farm if I owned one in Pennsylvania—he sold it. But before he sold it he decided to secure employment collecting coal-oil for his cousin, who was in the business in Canada, where they first discovered oil on this continent. They dipped it from the running streams at that early time. So this Pennsylvania farmer wrote to his cousin asking for employment. You see, friends, this farmer was not altogether a foolish man. No, he was not. He did not leave his farm until he had something else to do. **Of all the simpletons the stars shine on I don't know of a worse one than the man who leaves one job before he has gotten another.* That has especial reference to my profession, and has no reference whatever to a man seeking a divorce. When he wrote to his cousin for employment, his cousin replied, "I cannot engage you because you know nothing about the oil business."

Well, then the old farmer said, "I will know," and with most commendable zeal (characteristic of the students of Temple University) he set himself at the study of the whole subject. He began away back at the second day of God's creation when this world was covered thick and deep with that rich vegetation which since has turned to the primitive beds of coal. He studied the subject until he found that the drainings really of those rich beds of coal furnished the coal-oil that was worth pumping, and then he found how it came up with the living springs. He studied until he knew what it looked like, smelled like, tasted like, and how to refine it. "Now," said he in his letter to his cousin, "I understand the oil business." His cousin answered, "All right, come on."

So he sold his farm, according to the county record, for \$833 (even money, "no cents"). He had scarcely gone from that place before the man who purchased the spot went out to arrange for the watering of the cattle. He found the previous owner had gone out years before and put a plank across the brook back of the barn, edgewise into the surface of the water just a few inches. The purpose of that plank at that sharp angle across the brook was to throw over to the other bank a dreadful-looking scum through which the cattle would not put their noses. But with that plank there to throw it all over to one side, the cattle would drink below, and thus that man who had gone to Canada had been himself damming back for twenty-three years a flood of coal-oil which the state geologists of Pennsylvania declared to us ten years later was even then worth a hundred millions of dollars to our state, and four years ago our geologist declared the discovery to be worth to our state a thousand millions of dollars. The man who owned that territory on which the city of Titusville now stands, and those Pleasantville valleys, had studied the subject from the second day of God's creation clear down to the present time. He studied it until he knew all about it, and yet he is said to have sold the whole of it for \$833, and again I say, "No sense."

But I need another illustration. I found it in Massachusetts, and I am sorry I did because that is the state I came from. This young man in Massachusetts furnishes just another phase of my thought. He went to Yale College and studied mines and mining, and became such an adept as a mining engineer that he was employed by the authorities of the university to train students who were behind [in] their classes. During his senior year he earned \$15 a week for doing that work. When he graduated, they raised his pay from \$15 to \$45 a week, and offered him a professorship, and as soon as they did he went right home to his mother.

**If they had raised that boy's pay from \$15 to \$15.60 he would have stayed and been proud of the place, but when they put it up to \$45 at one leap, he said, "Mother, I won't work for \$45 a week. The idea of a man with a brain like mine working for \$45 a week! Let's go out in California and stake out gold-mines and silver-mines, and be immensely rich."*

Said his mother, "Now, Charlie, it is just as well to be happy as it is to be rich."

"Yes," said Charlie, "but it is just as well to be rich and happy, too." And they were both right about it. As he was an only son and she a widow, of course he had his way. They always do.

They sold out in Massachusetts, and instead of going to California they went to Wisconsin, where he went into the employ of the Superior Copper Mining Company at \$15 a week again, but with the proviso in his contract that he should have an interest in any mines he should discover for the company. I don't believe he ever discovered a mine, and if I am looking in the face of any stockholder of that copper company, you wish he had discovered something or other. I have friends who are not here because they could not afford a ticket, who did have stock in that company at the time this young man was employed there. This young man went out there, and I have not heard a word from him. I don't know what became of him, and I don't know whether he found any mines or not, but I don't believe he ever did.

But I do know the other end of the line. He had scarcely gotten out of the old homestead before the succeeding owner went out to dig potatoes. The potatoes were already growing in the ground when he bought the farm, and as the old farmer was bringing in a basket of potatoes it hugged very

tight between the ends of the stone fence. You know in Massachusetts our farms are nearly all stone wall. There you are obliged to be very economical of front gateways in order to have some place to put the stone. When that basket hugged so tight he set it down on the ground, and then dragged on one side, and pulled on the other side, and as he was dragging that basket through this farmer noticed in the upper and outer corner of that stone wall, right next the gate, a block of native silver eight inches square. That professor of mines, mining, and mineralogy who knew so much about the subject that he would not work for \$45 a week, when he sold that homestead in Massachusetts, sat right on that silver to make the bargain. He was born on that homestead, was brought up there, and had gone back and forth rubbing the stone with his sleeve until it reflected his countenance, and seemed to say, "Here is a hundred thousand dollars right down here just for the taking." But he would not take it. It was in a home in Newburyport, Massachusetts, and there was no silver there, all away off—well, I don't know where, and he did not, but somewhere else, and he was a professor of mineralogy.

My friends, that mistake is very universally made, and why should we even smile at him. I often wonder what has become of him. I do not know at all, but I will tell you what I "guess" as a Yankee. I guess that he sits out there by his fireside to-night with his friends gathered around him, and he is saying to them something like this: "Do you know that man Conwell who lives in Philadelphia?" "Oh yes, I have heard of him." "Do you know that man Jones that lives in Philadelphia?" "Yes, I have heard of him, too."

Then he begins to laugh, and shakes his sides and says to his friends, "Well, they have done just the same thing I did, precisely"—and that spoils the whole joke, for you and I have done the same thing he did, and while we sit here and laugh at him he has a better right to sit out there and laugh at us. I know I have made the same mistakes, but, of course, that does not make any difference, because we don't expect the same man to preach and practise, too.

As I come here to-night and look around this audience I am seeing again what through these fifty years I have continually seen—men that are making precisely that same mistake. I often wish I could see the younger people, and would that the Academy had been filled to-night with our high-school scholars and our grammar-school scholars, that I could have them to talk to. While I would have preferred such an audience as that, because they are most susceptible, as they have not grown up into their prejudices as we have, they have not gotten into any custom that they cannot break, they have not met with any failures as we have; and while I could perhaps do such an audience as that more good than I can do grown-up people, yet I will do the best I can with the material I have. I say to you that you have "acres of diamonds" in Philadelphia right where you now live. "Oh," but you will say, "you cannot know much about your city if you think there are any 'acres of diamonds' here."

I was greatly interested in that account in the newspaper of the young man who found that diamond in North Carolina. It was one of the purest diamonds that has ever been discovered, and it has several predecessors near the same locality. I went to a distinguished professor in mineralogy and asked him where he thought those diamonds came from. The professor secured the map of the geologic formations of our continent, and traced it. He said it went either through the underlying carboniferous strata adapted for such production, westward through Ohio and the Mississippi, or in more probability came eastward through Virginia and up the shore of the Atlantic Ocean. It is a fact that the diamonds were there, for they have been discovered and sold; and that they were carried down there during the drift period, from some northern locality. Now who can say but some person going down with his drill in Philadelphia will find some trace of a diamond-mine yet down here? Oh, friends! you cannot say that you are not over one of the greatest diamond-mines in the world, for such a diamond as that only comes from the most profitable mines that are found on earth.

But it serves simply to illustrate my thought, which I emphasize by saying if you do not have the actual diamond-mines literally you have all that they would be good for to you. Because now that the Queen of England has given the greatest compliment ever conferred upon American woman for her attire because she did not appear with any jewels at all at the late reception in England, it has almost done away with the use of diamonds anyhow. All you would care for would be the few you would wear if you wish to be modest, and the rest you would sell for money.

Now then, I say again that the opportunity to get rich, to attain unto great wealth, is here in Philadelphia now, within the reach of almost every man and woman who hears me speak to-night, and I mean just what I say. I have not come to this platform even under these circumstances to recite something to you. I have come to tell you what in God's sight I believe to be the truth, and if the years of life have been of any value to me in the attainment of common sense, I know I am right; that the men and women sitting here, who found it difficult perhaps to buy a ticket to this lecture or gathering to-night, have within their reach "acres of diamonds," opportunities to get largely wealthy. There never was a place on earth more adapted than the city of Philadelphia to-day, and never in the history of the world did a poor man without capital have such an opportunity to get rich quickly and honestly as he has now in our city. I say it is the truth, and I want you to accept it as such; for if you think I have come to simply recite something, then I would better not be here. I have no time to waste in any such talk, but to say the things I believe, and unless some of you get richer for what I am saying to-night my time is wasted.

I say that you ought to get rich, and it is your duty to get rich. How many of my pious brethren say to me, "Do you, a Christian minister, spend your time going up and down the country advising young people to get rich, to get money?" "Yes, of course I do." They say, "Isn't that awful! Why don't you preach the gospel instead of preaching about man's making money?" "Because to make money honestly is to preach the gospel." That is the reason. The men who get rich may be the most honest men you find in the community.

"Oh," but says some young man here to-night, "I have been told all my life that if a person has money he is very dishonest and dishonorable and mean and contemptible." My friend, that is the reason why you have none, because you have that idea of people. The foundation of your faith is altogether false. Let me say here clearly, and say it briefly, though subject to discussion which I have not time for here, ninety-eight out of one hundred of the rich men of America are honest. That is why they are rich. That is why they are trusted with money. That is why they carry on great enterprises and find plenty of people to work with them. It is because they are honest men.

Says another young man, "I hear sometimes of men that get millions of dollars dishonestly." Yes, of course you do, and so do I. But they are so rare a thing in fact that the newspapers talk about them all the time as a matter of news until you get the idea that all the other rich men got rich dishonestly.

My friend, you take and drive me—if you furnish the auto—out into the suburbs of Philadelphia, and introduce me to the people who own their homes around this great city, those beautiful homes with gardens and flowers, those magnificent homes so lovely in their art, and I will introduce you to the very best people in character as well as in enterprise in our city, and you know I will. A man is not really a true man until he owns his own home, and they that own their homes are made more honorable and honest and pure, and true and economical and careful, by owning the home.

For a man to have money, even in large sums, is not an inconsistent thing. We preach against covetousness, and you know we do, in the pulpit, and oftentimes preach against it so long and use the terms about "filthy lucre" so extremely that Christians get the idea that when we stand in the pulpit we believe it is wicked for any man to have money—until the collection-basket goes around, and then we almost swear at the people because they don't give more money. Oh, the inconsistency of such doctrines as that!

Money is power, and you ought to be reasonably ambitious to have it. You ought because you can do more good with it than you could without it. Money printed your Bible, money builds your churches, money sends your missionaries, and money pays your preachers, and you would not have many of them, either, if you did not pay them. I am always willing that my church should raise my salary, because the church that pays the largest salary always raises it the easiest. You never knew an exception to it in your life. The man who gets the largest salary can do the most good with the power that is furnished to him. Of course he can if his spirit be right to use it for what it is given to him.

I say, then, you ought to have money. If you can honestly attain unto riches in Philadelphia, it is your Christian and godly duty to do so. It is an awful mistake of these pious people to think you must be awfully poor in order to be pious.

Some men say, "Don't you sympathize with the poor people?" Of course I do, or else I would not have been lecturing these years. I won't give in but what I sympathize with the poor, but the number of poor who are to be sympathized with is very small. To sympathize with a man whom God has punished for his sins, thus to help him, when God would still continue a just punishment, is to do wrong, no doubt about it, and we do that more than we help those who are deserving. While we should sympathize with God's poor—that is, those who cannot help themselves—let us remember there is not a poor person in the United States who was not made poor by his own shortcomings, or by the shortcomings of some one else. It is all wrong to be poor, anyhow. Let us give in to that argument and pass that to one side.

A gentleman gets up back there, and says, "Don't you think there are some things in this world that are better than money?" Of course I do, but I am talking about money now. Of course there are some things higher than money. Oh yes, I know by the grave that has left me standing alone that there are some things in this world that are higher and sweeter and purer than money. Well do I know there are some things higher and grander than gold. Love is the grandest thing on God's earth, but fortunate the lover who has plenty of money. Money is power, money is force, money will do good as well as harm. In the hands of good men and women it could accomplish, and it has accomplished, good.

I hate to leave that behind me. I heard a man get up in a prayer-meeting in our city and thank the Lord he was "one of God's poor." Well, I wonder what his wife thinks about that? She earns all the money that comes into that house, and he smokes a part of that on the veranda. I don't want to see any more of the Lord's poor of that kind, and I don't believe the Lord does. And yet there are some people who think in order to be pious you must be awfully poor and awfully dirty. That does not follow at all. While we sympathize with the poor, let us not teach a doctrine like that.

Yet the age is prejudiced against advising a Christian man (or, as a Jew would say, a godly man) from attaining unto wealth. The prejudice is so universal and the years are far enough back, I think, for me to safely mention that years ago up at Temple University there was a young man in our theological school who thought he was the only pious student in that department. He came into my office one evening and sat down by my desk, and said to me: "Mr. President, I think it is my duty sir, to come in and labor with you." "What has happened now?" Said he, "I heard you say at the Academy, at the Peirce School commencement, that you thought it was an honorable ambition for a young man to desire to have wealth, and that you thought it made him temperate, made him anxious to have a good name, and made him industrious. You spoke about man's ambition to have money helping to make him a good man. Sir, I have come to tell you the Holy Bible says that 'money is the root of all evil.'"

I told him I had never seen it in the Bible, and advised him to go out into the chapel and get the Bible, and show me the place. So out he went for the Bible, and soon he stalked into my office with the Bible open, with all the bigoted pride of the narrow sectarian, or of one who finds his

Christianity on some misinterpretation of Scripture. He flung the Bible down on my desk, and fairly squealed into my ear: "There it is, Mr. President; you can read it for yourself." I said to him: "Well, young man, you will learn when you get a little older that you cannot trust another denomination to read the Bible for you. You belong to another denomination. You are taught in the theological school, however, that emphasis is exegesis. Now, will you take that Bible and read it yourself, and give the proper emphasis to it?"

He took the Bible, and proudly read, "The love of money is the root of all evil."

Then he had it right, and when one does quote aright from that same old Book he quotes the absolute truth. I have lived through fifty years of the mightiest battle that old Book has ever fought, and I have lived to see its banners flying free; for never in the history of this world did the great minds of earth so universally agree that the Bible is true—all true—as they do at this very hour.

So I say that, when he quoted right, of course he quoted the absolute truth. "The love of money is the root of all evil." He who tries to attain unto it too quickly, or dishonestly, will fall into many snares, no doubt about that. The love of money. What is that? It is making an idol of money, and idolatry pure and simple everywhere is condemned by the Holy Scriptures and by man's common sense. The man that worships the dollar instead of thinking of the purposes for which it ought to be used, the man who idolizes simply money, the miser that hordes his money in the cellar, or hides it in his stocking, or refuses to invest it where it will do the world good, that man who hugs the dollar until the eagle squeals has in him the root of all evil.

I think I will leave that behind me now and answer the question of nearly all of you who are asking, "Is there opportunity to get rich in Philadelphia?" Well, now, how simple a thing it is to see where it is, and the instant you see where it is it is yours. Some old gentleman gets up back there and says, "Mr. Conwell, have you lived in Philadelphia for thirty-one years and don't know that the time has gone by when you can make anything in this city?" "No, I don't think it is." "Yes, it is; I have tried it." "What business are you in?" "I kept a store here for twenty years, and never made over a thousand dollars in the whole twenty years."

"Well, then, you can measure the good you have been to this city by what this city has paid you, because a man can judge very well what he is worth by what he receives; that is, in what he is to the world at this time. If you have not made over a thousand dollars in twenty years in Philadelphia, it would have been better for Philadelphia if they had kicked you out of the city nineteen years and nine months ago. A man has no right to keep a store in Philadelphia twenty years and not make at least five hundred thousand dollars even though it be a corner grocery up-town." You say, "You cannot make five thousand dollars in a store now." Oh, my friends, if you will just take only four blocks around you, and find out what the people want and what you ought to supply and set them down with your pencil and figure up the profits you would make if you did supply them, you would very soon see it. There is wealth right within the sound of your voice.

Someone says: "You don't know anything about business. A preacher never knows a thing about business." Well, then, I will have to prove that I am an expert. I don't like to do this, but I have to do it because my testimony will not be taken if I am not an expert. My father kept a country store, and if there is any place under the stars where a man gets all sorts of experience in every kind of mercantile transactions, it is in the country store. I am not proud of my experience, but sometimes when my father was away he would leave me in charge of the store, though fortunately for him that was not very often. But this did occur many times, friends: A man would come in the store, and say to me, "Do you keep jack knives?" "No, we don't keep jack-knives," and I went off whistling a tune. What did I care about that man, anyhow? Then another farmer would come in and say, "Do you keep jack knives?" "No, we don't keep jack-knives." Then I went away and whistled another tune. Then a third man came right in the same door and said, "Do you keep jack-knives?" "No. Why is everyone around here asking for jack-knives? Do you suppose we are

keeping this store to supply the whole neighborhood with jack-knives?" Do you carry on your store like that in Philadelphia? The difficulty was I had not then learned that the foundation of godliness and the foundation principle of success in business are both the same precisely. The man who says, "I cannot carry my religion into business" advertises himself either as being an imbecile in business, or on the road to bankruptcy, or a thief, one of the three, sure. He will fail within a very few years. He certainly will if he doesn't carry his religion into business. If I had been carrying on my father's store on a Christian plan, godly plan, I would have had a jack-knife for the third man when he called for it. Then I would have actually done him a kindness, and I would have received a reward myself, which it would have been my duty to take.

There are some over-pious Christian people who think if you take any profit on anything you sell that you are an unrighteous man. On the contrary, you would be a criminal to sell goods for less than they cost. You have no right to do that. You cannot trust a man with your money who cannot take care of his own. You cannot trust a man in your family that is not true to his own wife. You cannot trust a man in the world that does not begin with his own heart, his own character, and his own life. It would have been my duty to have furnished a jack-knife to the third man, or the second, and to have sold it to him and actually profited myself. I have no more right to sell goods without making a profit on them than I have to overcharge him dishonestly beyond what they are worth. But I should so sell each bill of goods that the person to whom I sell shall make as much as I make.

To live and let live is the principle of the gospel, and the principle of every-day common sense. Oh, young man, hear me; live as you go along. Do not wait until you have reached my years before you begin to enjoy anything of this life. If I had the millions back, or fifty cents of it, which I have tried to earn in these years, it would not do me anything like the good that it does me now in this almost sacred presence to-night. Oh, yes, I am paid over and over a hundredfold to-night for dividing as I have tried to do in some measure as I went along through the years. I ought not speak that way, it sounds egotistic, but I am old enough now to be excused for that. I should have helped my fellow-men, which I have tried to do, and every one should try to do, and get the happiness of it. The man who goes home with the sense that he has stolen a dollar that day, that he has robbed a man of what was his honest due, is not going to sweet rest. He arises tired in the morning, and goes with an unclean conscience to his work the next day. He is not a successful man at all, although he may have laid up millions. But the man who has gone through life dividing always with his fellow-men, making and demanding his own rights and his own profits, and giving to every other man his rights and profits, lives every day, and not only that, but it is the royal road to great wealth. The history of the thousands of millionaires shows that to be the case.

The man over there who said he could not make anything in a store in Philadelphia has been carrying on his store on the wrong principle. Suppose I go into your store to-morrow morning and ask, "Do you know neighbor A, who lives one square away, at house No. 1240?" "Oh yes, I have met him. He deals here at the corner store." "Where did he come from?" "I don't know." "How many does he have in his family?" "I don't know." "What ticket does he vote?" "I don't know." "What church does he go to?" "I don't know, and don't care. What are you asking all these questions for?"

If you had a store in Philadelphia would you answer me like that? If so, then you are conducting your business just as I carried on my father's business in Worthington, Massachusetts. You don't know where your neighbor came from when he moved to Philadelphia, and you don't care. If you had cared, you would be a rich man now. If you had cared enough about him to take an interest in his affairs, to find out what he needed, you would have been rich. But you go through the world saying, "No opportunity to get rich," and there is the fault right at your own door.

But another young man gets up over there and says, "I cannot take up the mercantile business." (While I am talking of trade it applies to every occupation.) "Why can't you go into the mercantile business?" "Because I haven't any capital." Oh, the weak and dudish creature that can't see over its collar! It makes a person weak to see these little dudes standing around the corners and saying, "Oh, if I had plenty of capital, how rich I would get." "Young man, do you think you are going to get rich on capital?" "Certainly." Well, I say, "Certainly not." If your mother has plenty of money, and she will set you up in business, you will "set her up in business," supplying you with capital.

The moment a young man or woman gets more money than he or she has grown to by practical experience, that moment he has gotten a curse. It is no help to a young man or woman to inherit money. It is no help to your children to leave them money, but if you leave them education, if you leave them Christian and noble character, if you leave them a wide circle of friends, if you leave them an honorable name, it is far better than that they should have money. It would be worse for them, worse for the nation, that they should have any money at all. Oh, young man, if you have inherited money, don't regard it as a help. It will curse you through your years, and deprive you of the very best things of human life. There is no class of people to be pitied so much as the inexperienced sons and daughters of the rich of our generation. I pity the rich man's son. He can never know the best things in life.

One of the best things in our life is when a young man has earned his own living, and when he becomes engaged to some lovely young woman, and makes up his mind to have a home of his own. Then with that same love comes also that divine inspiration toward better things, and he begins to save his money. He begins to leave off his bad habits and put money in the bank. When he has a few hundred dollars, he goes out in the suburbs to look for a home. He goes to the savings-bank, perhaps, for half of the value, and then goes for his wife, and when he takes his bride over the threshold of that door for the first time he says in words of eloquence my voice can never touch: "I have earned this home myself. It is all mine, and I divide with thee." That is the grandest moment a human heart may ever know.

But a rich man's son can never know that. He takes his bride into a finer mansion, it may be, but he is obliged to go all the way through it and say to his wife, "My mother gave me that, my mother gave me that, and my mother gave me this," until his wife wishes she had married his mother. I pity the rich man's son.

The statistics of Massachusetts showed that not one rich man's son out of seventeen ever dies rich. I pity the rich man's sons unless they have the good sense of the elder Vanderbilt, which sometimes happens. He went to his father and said, "Did you earn all your money?" "I did, my son. I began to work on a ferry-boat for twenty-five cents a day." "Then," said his son, "I will have none of your money," and he, too, tried to get employment on a ferry-boat that Saturday night. He could not get one there, but he did get a place for three dollars a week. Of course, if a rich man's son will do that, he will get the discipline of a poor boy that is worth more than a university education to any man. He would then be able to take care of the millions of his father. But as a rule the rich men will not let their sons do the very thing that made them great. As a rule, the rich man will not allow his son to work—and his mother! Why, she would think it was a social disgrace if her poor, weak, little lily-fingered, sissy sort of a boy had to earn his living with honest toil. I have no pity for such rich men's sons.

I remember one at Niagara Falls. I think I remember one a great deal nearer. I think there are gentlemen present who were at a great banquet, and I beg pardon of his friends. At a banquet here in Philadelphia there sat beside me a kind-hearted young man, and he said, "Mr. Conwell, you have been sick for two or three years. When you go out, take my limousine, and it will take you up to your house on Broad Street." I thanked him very much, and perhaps I ought not to mention the incident in this way, but I follow the facts. I got on to the seat with the driver of that limousine,

outside, and when we were going up I asked the driver, "How much did this limousine cost?" "Six thousand eight hundred, and he had to pay the duty on it." "Well," I said, "does the owner of this machine ever drive it himself?" At that the chauffeur laughed so heartily that he lost control of his machine. He was so surprised at the question that he ran up on the sidewalk, and around a corner lamp-post out into the street again. And when he got out into the street he laughed till the whole machine trembled. He said: "He drive this machine! Oh, he would be lucky if he knew enough to get out when we get there."

I must tell you about a rich man's son at Niagara Falls. I came in from the lecture to the hotel, and as I approached the desk of the clerk there stood a millionaire's son from New York. He was an indescribable specimen of anthropologic potency. He had a skull-cap on one side of his head, with a gold tassel in the top of it, and a gold-headed cane under his arm with more in it than in his head. It is a very difficult thing to describe that young man. He wore an eye-glass that he could not see through, patent-leather boots that he could not walk in, and pants that he could not sit down in—dressed like a grasshopper. This human cricket came up to the clerk's desk just as I entered, adjusted his unseeing eye-glass, and spake in this wise to the clerk. You see, he thought it was "Hinglish, you know," to lisp. "Thir, will you have the kindness to supply me with thome papah and enwelophs!" The hotel clerk measured that man quick, and he pulled the envelopes and paper out of a drawer, threw them across the counter toward the young man, and then turned away to his books. You should have seen that young man when those envelopes came across that counter. He swelled up like a gobbler turkey, adjusted his unseeing eye-glass, and yelled: "Come right back here. Now thir, will you order a thervant to take that papah and enwelophs to yondah dethk." Oh, the poor, miserable, contemptible American monkey! He could not carry paper and envelopes twenty feet. I suppose he could not get his arms down to do it. I have no pity for such travesties upon human nature. If you have not capital, young man, I am glad of it. What you need is common sense, not copper cents.

The best thing I can do is to illustrate by actual facts well-known to you all. A. T. Stewart, a poor boy in New York, had \$1.50 to begin life on. He lost 87 1/2 cents of that on the very first venture. How fortunate that young man who loses the first time he gambles. That boy said, "I will never gamble again in business," and he never did. How came he to lose 87 1/2 cents? You probably all know the story how he lost it—because he bought some needles, threads, and buttons to sell which people did not want, and had them left on his hands, a dead loss. Said the boy, "I will not lose any more money in that way." Then he went around first to the doors and asked the people what they did want. Then when he had found out what they wanted he invested his 62 1/2 cents to supply a known demand. Study it wherever you choose—in business, in your profession, in your housekeeping, whatever your life, that one thing is the secret of success. You must first know the demand. You must first know what people need, and then invest yourself where you are most needed. A. T. Stewart went on that principle until he was worth what amounted afterward to forty millions of dollars, owning the very store in which Mr. Wanamaker carries on his great work in New York. His fortune was made by his losing something, which taught him the great lesson that he must only invest himself or his money in something that people need. When will you salesmen learn it? When will you manufacturers learn that you must know the changing needs of humanity if you would succeed in life? Apply yourselves, all you Christian people, as manufacturers or merchants or workmen to supply that human need. It is a great principle as broad as humanity and as deep as the Scripture itself.

The best illustration I ever heard was of John Jacob Astor. You know that he made the money of the Astor family when he lived in New York. He came across the sea in debt for his fare. But that poor boy with nothing in his pocket made the fortune of the Astor family on one principle. Some young man here to-night will say, "Well they could make those fortunes over in New York but they could not do it in Philadelphia!" My friends, did you ever read that wonderful book of Riis (his

memory is sweet to us because of his recent death), wherein is given his statistical account of the records taken in 1889 of 107 millionaires of New York. If you read the account you will see that out of the 107 millionaires only seven made their money in New York. Out of the 107 millionaires worth ten million dollars in real estate then, 67 of them made their money in towns of less than 3,500 inhabitants. The richest man in this country to-day, if you read the real-estate values, has never moved away from a town of 3,500 inhabitants. It makes not so much difference where you are as who you are. But if you cannot get rich in Philadelphia you certainly cannot do it in New York.

Now John Jacob Astor illustrated what can be done anywhere. He had a mortgage once on a millinery-store, and they could not sell bonnets enough to pay the interest on his money. So he foreclosed that mortgage, took possession of the store, and went into partnership with the very same people, in the same store, with the same capital. He did not give them a dollar of capital. They had to sell goods to get any money. Then he left them alone in the store just as they had been before, and he went out and sat down on a bench in the park in the shade. What was John Jacob Astor doing out there, and in partnership with people who had failed on his own hands? He had the most important and, to my mind, the most pleasant part of that partnership on his hands. For as John Jacob Astor sat on that bench he was watching the ladies as they went by; and where is the man who would not get rich at that business? As he sat on the bench if a lady passed him with her shoulders back and head up, and looked straight to the front, as if she did not care if all the world did gaze on her, then he studied her bonnet, and by the time it was out of sight he knew the shape of the frame, the color of the trimmings, and the crinklings in the feather. I sometimes try to describe a bonnet, but not always. I would not try to describe a modern bonnet. Where is the man that could describe one? This aggregation of all sorts of driftwood stuck on the back of the head, or the side of the neck, like a rooster with only one tail feather left. But in John Jacob Astor's day there was some art about the millinery business, and he went to the millinery-store and said to them: "Now put into the show-window just such a bonnet as I describe to you, because I have already seen a lady who likes such a bonnet. Don't make up any more until I come back." Then he went out and sat down again, and another lady passed him of a different form, of different complexion, with a different shape and color of bonnet. "Now," said he, "put such a bonnet as that in the show window." He did not fill his show-window up town with a lot of hats and bonnets to drive people away, and then sit on the back stairs and bawl because people went to Wanamaker's to trade. He did not have a hat or a bonnet in that show-window but what some lady liked before it was made up. The tide of custom began immediately to turn in, and that has been the foundation of the greatest store in New York in that line, and still exists as one of three stores. Its fortune was made by John Jacob Astor after they had failed in business, not by giving them any more money, but by finding out what the ladies liked for bonnets before they wasted any material in making them up. I tell you if a man could foresee the millinery business he could foresee anything under heaven!

Suppose I were to go through this audience to-night and ask you in this great manufacturing city if there are not opportunities to get rich in manufacturing. "Oh yes," some young man says, "there are opportunities here still if you build with some trust and if you have two or three millions of dollars to begin with as capital." Young man, the history of the breaking up of the trusts by that attack upon "big business" is only illustrating what is now the opportunity of the smaller man. The time never came in the history of the world when you could get rich so quickly manufacturing without capital as you can now.

But you will say, "You cannot do anything of the kind. You cannot start without capital." Young man, let me illustrate for a moment. I must do it. It is my duty to every young man and woman, because we are all going into business very soon on the same plan. Young man, remember if you know what people need you have gotten more knowledge of a fortune than any amount of capital can give you.

There was a poor man out of work living in Hingham, Massachusetts. He lounged around the house until one day his wife told him to get out and work, and, as he lived in Massachusetts, he obeyed his wife. He went out and sat down on the shore of the bay, and whittled a soaked shingle into a wooden chain. His children that evening quarreled over it, and he whittled a second one to keep peace. While he was whittling the second one a neighbor came in and said: "Why don't you whittle toys and sell them? You could make money at that." "Oh," he said, "I would not know what to make." "Why don't you ask your own children right here in your own house what to make?" "What is the use of trying that?" said the carpenter. "My children are different from other people's children." (I used to see people like that when I taught school.) But he acted upon the hint, and the next morning when Mary came down the stairway, he asked, "What do you want for a toy?" She began to tell him she would like a doll's bed, a doll's washstand, a doll's carriage, a little doll's umbrella, and went on with a list of things that would take him a lifetime to supply. So, consulting his own children, in his own house, he took the firewood, for he had no money to buy lumber, and whittled those strong, unpainted Hingham toys that were for so many years known all over the world. That man began to make those toys for his own children, and then made copies and sold them through the boot-and-shoe store next door. He began to make a little money, and then a little more, and Mr. Lawson, in his *Frenzied Finance*, says that man is the richest man in old Massachusetts, and I think it is the truth. And that man is worth a hundred millions of dollars to-day, and has been only thirty-four years making it on that one principle—that one must judge that what his own children like at home other people's children would like in their homes, too; to judge the human heart by oneself, by one's wife or by one's children. It is the royal road to success in manufacturing. "Oh," but you say, "didn't he have any capital?" Yes, a penknife, but I don't know that he had paid for that.

I spoke thus to an audience in New Britain, Connecticut, and a lady four seats back went home and tried to take off her collar, and the collar-button stuck in the buttonhole. She threw it out and said, "I am going to get up something better than that to put on collars." Her husband said: "After what Conwell said to-night, you see there is a need of an improved collar-fastener that is easier to handle. There is a human need; there is a great fortune. Now, then, get up a collar-button and get rich." He made fun of her, and consequently made fun of me, and that is one of the saddest things which comes over me like a deep cloud of midnight sometimes—although I have worked so hard for more than half a century, yet how little I have ever really done. Notwithstanding the greatness and the handsomeness of your compliment to-night, I do not believe there is one in ten of you that is going to make a million of dollars because you are here to-night; but it is not my fault, it is yours. I say that sincerely. What is the use of my talking if people never do what I advise them to do? When her husband ridiculed her, she made up her mind she would make a better collar-button, and when a woman makes up her mind "she will," and does not say anything about it, she does it. It was that New England woman who invented the snap button which you can find anywhere now. It was first a collar-button with a spring cap attached to the outer side. Any of you who wear modern waterproofs know the button that simply pushes together, and when you unbutton it you simply pull it apart. That is the button to which I refer, and which she invented. She afterward invented several other buttons, and then invested in more, and then was taken into partnership with great factories. Now that woman goes over the sea every summer in her private steamship—yes, and takes her husband with her! If her husband were to die, she would have money enough left now to buy a foreign duke or count or some such title as that at the latest quotations.

Now what is my lesson in that incident? It is this: I told her then, though I did not know her, what I now say to you, "Your wealth is too near to you. You are looking right over it"; and she had to look over it because it was right under her chin.

I have read in the newspaper that a woman never invented anything. Well, that newspaper ought to begin again. Of course, I do not refer to gossip—I refer to machines—and if I did I might

better include the men. That newspaper could never appear if women had not invented something. Friends, think. Ye women, think! You say you cannot make a fortune because you are in some laundry, or running a sewing-machine, it may be, or walking before some loom, and yet you can be a millionaire if you will but follow this almost infallible direction.

When you say a woman doesn't invent anything, I ask, Who invented the Jacquard loom that wove every stitch you wear? Mrs. Jacquard. The printer's roller, the printing-press, were invented by farmers' wives. Who invented the cotton-gin of the South that enriched our country so amazingly? Mrs. General Greene invented the cotton-gin and showed the idea to Mr. Whitney, and he, like a man, seized it. Who was it that invented the sewing-machine? If I would go to school to-morrow and ask your children they would say, "Elias Howe."

He was in the Civil War with me, and often in my tent, and I often heard him say that he worked fourteen years to get up that sewing-machine. But his wife made up her mind one day that they would starve to death if there wasn't something or other invented pretty soon, and so in two hours she invented the sewing-machine. Of course he took out the patent in his name. Men always do that. Who was it that invented the mower and the reaper? According to Mr. McCormick's confidential communication, so recently published, it was a West Virginia woman, who, after his father and he had failed altogether in making a reaper and gave it up, took a lot of shears and nailed them together on the edge of a board, with one shaft of each pair loose, and then wired them so that when she pulled the wire one way it closed them, and when she pulled the wire the other way it opened them, and there she had the principle of the mowing-machine. If you look at a mowing-machine, you will see it is nothing but a lot of shears. If a woman can invent a mowing-machine, if a woman can invent a Jacquard loom, if a woman can invent a cotton-gin, if a woman can invent a trolley switch—as she did and made the trolleys possible; if a woman can invent, as Mr. Carnegie said, the great iron squeezers that laid the foundation of all the steel millions of the United States, "we men" can invent anything under the stars! I say that for the encouragement of the men.

Who are the great inventors of the world? Again this lesson comes before us. The great inventor sits next to you, or you are the person yourself. "Oh," but you will say, "I have never invented anything in my life." Neither did the great inventors until they discovered one great secret. Do you think it is a man with a head like a bushel measure or a man like a stroke of lightning? It is neither. The really great man is a plain, straightforward, every-day, common-sense man. You would not dream that he was a great inventor if you did not see something he had actually done. His neighbors do not regard him so great. You never see anything great over your back fence. You say there is no greatness among your neighbors. It is all away off somewhere else. Their greatness is ever so simple, so plain, so earnest, so practical, that the neighbors and friends never recognize it.

True greatness is often unrecognized. That is sure. You do not know anything about the greatest men and women. I went out to write the life of General Garfield, and a neighbor, knowing I was in a hurry, and as there was a great crowd around the front door, took me around to General Garfield's back door and shouted, "Jim! Jim!" And very soon "Jim" came to the door and let me in, and I wrote the biography of one of the grandest men of the nation, and yet he was just the same old "Jim" to his neighbor. If you know a great man in Philadelphia and you should meet him to-morrow, you would say, "How are you, Sam?" or "Good morning, Jim." Of course you would. That is just what you would do.

One of my soldiers in the Civil War had been sentenced to death, and I went up to the White House in Washington—sent there for the first time in my life to see the President. I went into the waiting-room and sat down with a lot of others on the benches, and the secretary asked one after another to tell him what they wanted. After the secretary had been through the line, he went in, and then came back to the door and motioned for me. I went up to that anteroom, and the secretary

said: "That is the President's door right over there. Just rap on it and go right in." I never was so taken aback, friends, in all my life, never. The secretary himself made it worse for me, because he had told me how to go in and then went out another door to the left and shut that. There I was, in the hallway by myself before the President of the United States of America's door. I had been on fields of battle, where the shells did sometimes shriek and the bullets did sometimes hit me, but I always wanted to run. I have no sympathy with the old man who says, "I would just as soon march up to the cannon's mouth as eat my dinner." I have no faith in a man who doesn't know enough to be afraid when he is being shot at. I never was so afraid when the shells came around us at Antietam as I was when I went into that room that day; but I finally mustered the courage—I don't know how I ever did—and at arm's-length tapped on the door. The man inside did not help me at all, but yelled out, "Come in and sit down!"

Well, I went in and sat down on the edge of a chair, and wished I were in Europe, and the man at the table did not look up. He was one of the world's greatest men, and was made great by one single rule. Oh, that all the young people of Philadelphia were before me now and I could say just this one thing, and that they would remember it. I would give a lifetime for the effect it would have on our city and on civilization. Abraham Lincoln's principle for greatness can be adopted by nearly all. This was his rule: Whatsoever he had to do at all, he put his whole mind into it and held it all there until that was all done. That makes men great almost anywhere. He stuck to those papers at that table and did not look up at me, and I sat there trembling. Finally, when he had put the string around his papers, he pushed them over to one side and looked over to me, and a smile came over his worn face. He said: "I am a very busy man and have only a few minutes to spare. Now tell me in the fewest words what it is you want." I began to tell him, and mentioned the case, and he said: "I have heard all about it and you do not need to say any more. Mr. Stanton was talking to me only a few days ago about that. You can go to the hotel and rest assured that the President never did sign an order to shoot a boy under twenty years of age, and never will. You can say that to his mother anyhow."

Then he said to me, "How is it going in the field?" I said, "We sometimes get discouraged." And he said: "It is all right. We are going to win out now. We are getting very near the light. No man ought to wish to be President of the United States, and I will be glad when I get through; then Tad and I are going out to Springfield, Illinois. I have bought a farm out there and I don't care if I again earn only twenty-five cents a day. Tad has a mule team, and we are going to plant onions."

Then he asked me, "Were you brought up on a farm?" I said, "Yes; in the Berkshire Hills of Massachusetts." He then threw his leg over the corner of the big chair and said, "I have heard many a time, ever since I was young, that up there in those hills you have to sharpen the noses of the sheep in order to get down to the grass between the rocks." He was so familiar, so everyday, so farmer-like, that I felt right at home with him at once.

He then took hold of another roll of paper, and looked up at me and said, "Good morning." I took the hint then and got up and went out. After I had gotten out I could not realize I had seen the President of the United States at all. But a few days later, when still in the city, I saw the crowd pass through the East Room by the coffin of Abraham Lincoln, and when I looked at the upturned face of the murdered President I felt then that the man I had seen such a short time before, who, so simple a man, so plain a man, was one of the greatest men that God ever raised up to lead a nation on to ultimate liberty. Yet he was only "Old Abe" to his neighbors. When they had the second funeral, I was invited among others, and went out to see that same coffin put back in the tomb at Springfield. Around the tomb stood Lincoln's old neighbors, to whom he was just "Old Abe." Of course that is all they would say.

Did you ever see a man who struts around altogether too large to notice an ordinary working mechanic? Do you think he is great? He is nothing but a puffed-up balloon, held down by his big feet. There is no greatness there.

Who are the great men and women? My attention was called the other day to the history of a very little thing that made the fortune of a very poor man. It was an awful thing, and yet because of that experience he—not a great inventor or genius—invented the pin that now is called the safety-pin, and out of that safety-pin made the fortune of one of the great aristocratic families of this nation.

A poor man in Massachusetts who had worked in the nail-works was injured at thirty-eight, and he could earn but little money. He was employed in the office to rub out the marks on the bills made by pencil memorandums, and he used a rubber until his hand grew tired. He then tied a piece of rubber on the end of a stick and worked it like a plane. His little girl came and said, "Why, you have a patent, haven't you?" The father said afterward, "My daughter told me when I took that stick and put the rubber on the end that there was a patent, and that was the first thought of that." He went to Boston and applied for his patent, and every one of you that has a rubber-tipped pencil in your pocket is now paying tribute to the millionaire. No capital, not a penny did he invest in it. All was income, all the way up into the millions.

But let me hasten to one other greater thought. "Show me the great men and women who live in Philadelphia." A gentleman over there will get up and say: "We don't have any great men in Philadelphia. They don't live here. They live away off in Rome or St. Petersburg or London or Manayunk, or anywhere else but here in our town." I have come now to the apex of my thought. I have come now to the heart of the whole matter and to the center of my struggle: Why isn't Philadelphia a greater city in its greater wealth? Why does New York excel Philadelphia? People say, "Because of her harbor." Why do many other cities of the United States get ahead of Philadelphia now? There is only one answer, and that is because our own people talk down their own city. If there ever was a community on earth that has to be forced ahead, it is the city of Philadelphia. If we are to have a boulevard, talk it down; if we are going to have better schools, talk them down; if you wish to have wise legislation, talk it down; talk all the proposed improvements down. That is the only great wrong that I can lay at the feet of the magnificent Philadelphia that has been so universally kind to me. I say it is time we turn around in our city and begin to talk up the things that are in our city, and begin to set them before the world as the people of Chicago, New York, St. Louis, and San Francisco do. Oh, if we only could get that spirit out among our people, that we can do things in Philadelphia and do them well!

Arise, ye millions of Philadelphians, trust in God and man, and believe in the great opportunities that are right here not over in New York or Boston, but here—for business, for everything that is worth living for on earth. There was never an opportunity greater. Let us talk up our own city.

But there are two other young men here tonight, and that is all I will venture to say, because it is too late. One over there gets up and says, "There is going to be a great man in Philadelphia, but never was one." "Oh, is that so? When are you going to be great?" "When I am elected to some political office." Young man, won't you learn a lesson in the primer of politics that it is a *prima facie* evidence of littleness to hold office under our form of government? Great men get into office sometimes, but what this country needs is men that will do what we tell them to do. This nation—where the people rule—is governed by the people, for the people, and so long as it is, then the office-holder is but the servant of the people, and the Bible says the servant cannot be greater than the master. The Bible says, "He that is sent cannot be greater than Him who sent Him." The people rule, or should rule, and if they do, we do not need the greater men in office. If the great men in America took our offices, we would change to an empire in the next ten years.

I know of a great many young women, now that woman's suffrage is coming, who say, "I am going to be President of the United States someday." I believe in woman's suffrage, and there is no doubt but what it is coming, and I am getting out of the way, anyhow. I may want an office by and

by myself; but if the ambition for an office influences the women in their desire to vote, I want to say right here what I say to the young men, that if you only get the privilege of casting one vote, you don't get anything that is worthwhile. Unless you can control more than one vote, you will be unknown, and your influence so dissipated as practically not to be felt. This country is not run by votes. Do you think it is? It is governed by influence. It is governed by the ambitions and the enterprises which control votes. The young woman that thinks she is going to vote for the sake of holding an office is making an awful blunder.

That other young man gets up and says, "There are going to be great men in this country and in Philadelphia." "Is that so? When?" "When there comes a great war, when we get into difficulty through watchful waiting in Mexico; when we get into war with England over some frivolous deed, or with Japan or China or New Jersey or some distant country. Then I will march up to the cannon's mouth; I will sweep up among the glistening bayonets; I will leap into the arena and tear down the flag and bear it away in triumph. I will come home with stars on my shoulder, and hold every office in the gift of the nation, and I will be great." No, you won't. You think you are going to be made great by an office, but remember that if you are not great before you get the office, you won't be great when you secure it. It will only be a burlesque in that shape.

We had a Peace Jubilee here after the Spanish War. Out West they don't believe this, because they said, "Philadelphia would not have heard of any Spanish War until fifty years hence." Some of you saw the procession go up Broad Street. I was away, but the family wrote to me that the tally-ho coach with Lieutenant Hobson upon it stopped right at the front door and the people shouted, "Hurrah for Hobson!" and if I had been there I would have yelled too, because he deserves much more of his country than he has ever received. But suppose I go into school and say, "Who sunk the *Merrimac* at Santiago?" and if the boys answer me, "Hobson," they will tell me seven-eighths of a lie. There were seven other heroes on that steamer, and they, by virtue of their position, were continually exposed to the Spanish fire, while Hobson, as an officer, might reasonably be behind the smoke-stack. You have gathered in this house your most intelligent people, and yet, perhaps, not one here can name the other seven men.

We ought not to so teach history. We ought to teach that, however humble a man's station may be, if he does his full duty in that place he is just as much entitled to the American people's honor as is the king upon his throne. But we do not so teach. We are now teaching everywhere that the generals do all the fighting.

I remember that, after the war, I went down to see General Robert E. Lee, that magnificent Christian gentleman of whom both North and South are now proud as one of our great Americans. The general told me about his servant, "Rastus," who was an enlisted colored soldier. He called him in one day to make fun of him, and said, "Rastus, I hear that all the rest of your company are killed, and why are you not killed?" Rastus winked at him and said, "Cause when there is any fightin' goin' on I stay back with the generals."

I remember another illustration. I would leave it out but for the fact that, when you go to the library to read this lecture, you will find this has been printed in it for twenty-five years. I shut my eyes—shut them close—and lo! I see the faces of my youth. Yes, they sometimes say to me, "Your hair is not white; you are working night and day without seeming ever to stop; you can't be old." But when I shut my eyes, like any other man of my years, oh, then come trooping back the faces of the loved and lost of long ago, and I know, whatever men may say, it is evening-time.

I shut my eyes now and look back to my native town in Massachusetts, and I see the cattle-show ground on the mountain-top; I can see the horse-sheds there. I can see the Congregational church; see the town hall and mountaineers' cottages; see a great assembly of people turning out, dressed resplendently, and I can see flags flying and handkerchiefs waving and hear bands playing. I can see that company of soldiers that had re-enlisted marching up on that cattle-show ground.

I was but a boy, but I was captain of that company and puffed out with pride. A cambric needle would have burst me all to pieces. Then I thought it was the greatest event that ever came to man on earth. If you have ever thought you would like to be a king or queen, you go and be received by the mayor.

The bands played, and all the people turned out to receive us. I marched up that Common so proud at the head of my troops, and we turned down into the town hall. Then they seated my soldiers down the center aisle and I sat down on the front seat. A great assembly of people a hundred or two—came in to fill the town hall, so that they stood up all around. Then the town officers came in and formed a half-circle. The mayor of the town sat in the middle of the platform. He was a man who had never held office before; but he was a good man, and his friends have told me that I might use this without giving them offense. He was a good man, but he thought an office made a man great. He came up and took his seat, adjusted his powerful spectacles, and looked around, when he suddenly spied me sitting there on the front seat. He came right forward on the platform and invited me up to sit with the town officers. No town officer ever took any notice of me before I went to war, except to advise the teacher to thrash me, and now I was invited up on the stand with the town officers. Oh my! the town mayor was then the emperor, the king of our day and our time. As I came up on the platform they gave me a chair about this far, I would say, from the front.

When I had got seated, the chairman of the Selectmen arose and came forward to the table, and we all supposed he would introduce the Congregational minister, who was the only orator in town, and that he would give the oration to the returning soldiers. But, friends, you should have seen the surprise which ran over the audience when they discovered that the old fellow was going to deliver that speech himself. He had never made a speech in his life, but he fell into the same error that hundreds of other men have fallen into. It seems so strange that a man won't learn he must speak his piece as a boy if he intends to be an orator when he is grown, but he seems to think all he has to do is to hold an office to be a great orator.

So he came up to the front, and brought with him a speech which he had learned by heart walking up and down the pasture, where he had frightened the cattle. He brought the manuscript with him and spread it out on the table so as to be sure he might see it. He adjusted his spectacles and leaned over it for a moment and marched back on that platform, and then came forward like this—tramp, tramp, tramp. He must have studied the subject a great deal, when you come to think of it, because he assumed an “elocutionary” attitude. He rested heavily upon his left heel, threw back his shoulders, slightly advanced the right foot, opened the organs of speech, and advanced his right foot at an angle of forty-five. As he stood in that elocutionary attitude, friends, this is just the way that speech went. Some people say to me, “Don’t you exaggerate?” That would be impossible. But I am here for the lesson and not for the story, and this is the way it went:

“Fellow-citizens—” As soon as he heard his voice his fingers began to go like that, his knees began to shake, and then he trembled all over. He choked and swallowed and came around to the table to look at the manuscript. Then he gathered himself up with clenched fists and came back: “Fellow-citizens, we are Fellow-citizens, we are—we are—we are—we are—we are—we are very happy—we are very happy—we are very happy. We are very happy to welcome back to their native town these soldiers who have fought and bled—and come back again to their native town. We are especially—we are especially—we are especially. We are especially pleased to see with us today this young hero” (that meant me)—“this young hero who in imagination” (friends, remember he said that; if he had not said “in imagination” I would not be egotistic enough to refer to it at all)—“this young hero who in imagination we have seen leading—we have seen leading—leading. We have seen leading his troops on to the deadly breach. We have seen his shining—we have seen his shining—his shining—his shining sword—flashing. Flashing in the sunlight, as he shouted to his troops, ‘Come on’!”

Oh dear, dear, dear! how little that good man knew about war. If he had known anything about war at all he ought to have known what any of my G. A. R. comrades here to-night will tell you is true, that it is next to a crime for an officer of infantry ever in time of danger to go ahead of his men. "I, with my shining sword flashing in the sunlight, shouting to my troops, 'Come on'!" I never did it. Do you suppose I would get in front of my men to be shot in front by the enemy and in the back by my own men? That is no place for an officer. The place for the officer in actual battle is behind the line. How often, as a staff officer, I rode down the line, when our men were suddenly called to the line of battle, and the Rebel yells were coming out of the woods, and shouted: "Officers to the rear! Officers to the rear!" Then every officer gets behind the line of private soldiers, and the higher the officer's rank the farther behind he goes. Not because he is any the less brave, but because the laws of war require that. And yet he shouted, "I, with my shining sword—" In that house there sat the company of my soldiers who had carried that boy across the Carolina rivers that he might not wet his feet. Some of them had gone far out to get a pig or a chicken. Some of them had gone to death under the shell-swept pines in the mountains of Tennessee, yet in the good man's speech they were scarcely known. He did refer to them, but only incidentally. The hero of the hour was this boy. Did the nation owe him anything? No, nothing then and nothing now. Why was he the hero? Simply because that man fell into that same human error—that this boy was great because he was an officer and these were only private soldiers.

Oh, I learned the lesson then that I will never forget so long as the tongue of the bell of time continues to swing for me. Greatness consists not in the holding of some future office, but really consists in doing great deeds with little means and the accomplishment of vast purposes from the private ranks of life. To be great at all one must be great here, now, in Philadelphia. He who can give to this city better streets and better sidewalks, better schools and more colleges, more happiness and more civilization, more of God, he will be great anywhere. Let every man or woman here, if you never hear me again, remember this, that if you wish to be great at all, you must begin where you are and what you are, in Philadelphia, now. He that can give to his city any blessing, he who can be a good citizen while he lives here, he that can make better homes, he that can be a blessing whether he works in the shop or sits behind the counter or keeps house, whatever be his life, he who would be great anywhere must first be great in his own Philadelphia.